

**A SOCIO-PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF POLITENESS  
STRATEGIES PERFORMED BY BARACK OBAMA  
AND HILLARY CLINTON IN THE DEMOCRATIC  
DEBATE HELD ON FEBRUARY 26, 2008**

**A THESIS**

**Presented as Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements to Acquire a  
*Sarjana Sastra* Degree in English Language and Literature**



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ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT  
FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND ARTS  
YOGYAKARTA STATE UNIVERSITY  
2014**



## APPROVAL SHEET

### **A SOCIO-PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF POLITENESS STRATEGIES PERFORMED BY BARACK OBAMA AND HILLARY CLINTON IN THE DEMOCRATIC DEBATE HELD ON FEBRUARY 26, 2008**

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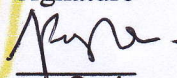
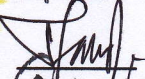
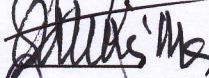
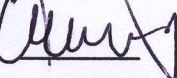
## RATIFICATION SHEET

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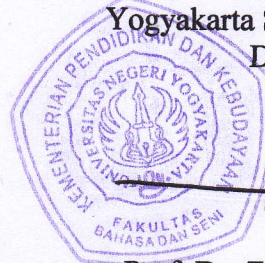
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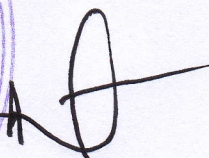
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Yogyakarta, 16 Desember 2013  
Penulis,

Dhesta Maydiana Sari

## **MOTTOS**

**If you can dream it, you can do it – Walt Disney**

**I am a woman in process. I'm just trying like everybody else. I try to take every conflict, every experience, and learn from it. Life is never dull. – Oprah Winfrey**

**Do not fear mistakes. You will know failure. Continue to reach out. – Benjamin Franklin**



## DEDICATION

This Thesis is lovingly dedicated to

*My Beloved Parents*

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Finally, I do realize that this thesis is still far from being perfect. Hence, the constructive criticisms, suggestions and opinions to make it better are welcomed and expected from the readers.

Yogyakarta, December 16<sup>th</sup> 2013

Dhesta Maydiana Sari



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	:	Approbation Maxim
Ag	:	Agreement Maxim
As	:	Assertives
BO	:	Barack Obama
C	:	Commissives
D	:	Directives
De	:	Declaratives
E	:	Expressives
G	:	Generosity Maxim
HC	:	Hillary Clinton
M	:	Modesty Maxim
S	:	Sympathy Maxim
T	:	Tact Maxim



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**ABSTRACT**

The use of politeness strategies is commonly found in daily conversations. Formerly, many sociolinguists believe that women are usually more aware in using politeness strategies than men. This assumption relies on the gender stereotype emerging in society. However, nowadays this stereotype has become faded and gender equality begins to be echoed. Thus, the aims of this research are (1) to find out whether or not there are differences between man and woman candidate of political campaign debate in using language, especially in using of politeness strategies and also (2) to describe the application of Illocutionary acts in forming the politeness strategies.

This research employs descriptive qualitative research. The data of this research are collected from the 26<sup>th</sup> February 2008 Democratic Debate's transcript. The main instrument of this research is the researcher herself. The data are categorized based on two theories. The first theory is the classifications of politeness principle's maxims proposed by Leech (1983) and the second theory is the classification of illocutionary acts proposed by Searle (1975) which is cited by Leech (1983). To gain the data trustworthiness, the researcher asked the triangulators to check the collected data.

The results of this research show that all types of politeness principle's maxims are found in the debate script, they are: tact maxim, generosity maxim, approbation maxim, agreement maxim, and sympathy maxim. The approbation maxim is more widely found in Obama's statements, while the generosity maxim is more widely found in Clinton's statements. The illocutionary acts' types which are found in the debate script are assertives, directives, commissives, and expressives. The assertives is more widely used by Obama in his statements and the commissive is more widely used in Clinton's statements. It shows that Obama uses politeness strategies more often to praise his opponent or other parties, while Clinton uses politeness strategies when she delivers her programs. Moreover, this research also shows that politeness strategies are more often found in Obama's statements than in Clinton's statements during the debate. It means that gender stereotype does not influence the use language between man and woman candidate in this research object.

Keywords: socio-pragmatics, politeness principle, illocutionary acts, gender.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter consists of six sections. Namely, background of the study, identification of the problem, research focus, formulation of the problems, objectives of the problem, and significance of the problem. The first section is background of the study which explains the reason of the researcher in conducting this research. Then, the second section is identification of the problem, in which it contains the related problems, especially linguistics problems, which arise from the object of the research. The third section is research focus, which consists of the descriptions of the main issues which are going to be lifted up by this research. The fourth section is formulation of the problems, in this research there are two research questions related to the problems which are going to be conducted in this research. The fifth section is objectives of the problem, in which the researcher explains about the purpose of the research. The last section is significance of the research. This section discusses the significance of the study for certain parties, both theoretical and practical. The further descriptions are below.

#### **A. Background of the study**

Men and women are portrayed as having many differences. These differences are begun with the distinction between sex and gender. According to Wardhaugh

(2006: 315), sex is determined biologically whereas gender is determined by a social construct. In relation to the discussion of gender, it includes genetic, psychological, social, and cultural differences between both sexes. In addition, the word *sex* can be associated with the terms ‘male’ and ‘female’ (in which it is going to be the same in any culture), while *gender* deals with ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ aspects and it can be quite different in one culture to another.

These gender differences are related to the existence of the stereotype of men and women in society. Cameron (1988: 8) states that there is a strong tendency for a certain society to give a certain stereotype to its own society members. He explains further that “to stereotype someone is to interpret their behavior, personality and so on in terms of a set common- sense attributions which are applied to the whole groups”. Talbot (2003: 472) explains there is a stereotype that men dominate over women in the wider social order. This stereotype may come from the assumption that men are stronger than women and it has a great effect on the roles of men and women in the society. Traditionally, people believe that a man is the most suitable one to become a leader, while woman is the one who is led. This fact influences the job differences which are taken by men and women. As states by Hudson on his journal (1989: 1), that many women hold inferior job than men in the society. Thus, it creates clear boundaries between men and women’s role in the society and forms a gender hierarchy.

This gender inequality was faded in around the beginning of 1948 when United Nation declared the Human Right Declaration, in which this declaration



supported the elimination of discrimination including gender inequality and supported the gender equality. According to Mikkola (2007: 6), “Gender equality, in contrast, is expressed in attitudes, beliefs, behaviors and policies that reflect an equal valuing and provision of opportunities for both genders.” Furthermore, gender equality emphasizes on the attitude to appreciate the differences between women and men and eliminate discrimination by providing an equal opportunity in taking a role in society.

The gender equality breaks the men’s domination and the assumption that men are more capable to be leaders than women. Nowadays, many women can prove that they are as capable as men to be leaders, for example is in the world of politics. The participation of women in politics was marked by the declaration of the United Nations *Convention on the Political Rights of Women* in 1954. It stated that women and men have equal rights in the government, such as; the right to be elected as representative and the right to get access to all kinds of public services.

When someone decides to be involved in politics, for example a candidate of election has to prepare strategies to win the campaign without seeing their sex. One of these strategies is a good communication strategy. This strategy is needed to transfer the ideas and the point of view of the politicians related to a certain problem to the audience through the use of language. As stated by Jones and Peccie (2004: 39), through language that is used, someone can influence and even can control other’s mind by using the language. They also emphasize the importance of language in a

political communication. Thus, those candidates who have a good skill in communication will be easily to get support from the people.

Communication in politics can be conducted in several ways, one of which is by conducting a debate. Freely and Steinberg (2009: 6) define a debate as a process of finding the truth through reasoned judging on an argumentation. Moreover, they also state that the debate is used to influence the audience. The debate itself involves two parties with different opinions and perspectives. The function of conducting a debate is to convey the ideas of the candidate and confront it with the idea of the opponent.

When the confrontation is running, the participants retain their own opinions and sometimes would threaten interlocutors' face. Whereas, during a daily conversation, the participants are expected to maintain politeness in order to respect one another by reducing sarcasm. Leech (1983: 60) states that politeness is an important part of a social interaction since it is the way participants maintain harmony while socially interacting with one another. In line with Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987: 61), add that in the attempt to maintain a social harmony there is a 'face' concept of politeness. They assume that everyone has a 'face' concept and realizes that it is owned by others too. Therefore, the participants of a conversation are expected to respect the others' face through the use of politeness in conversation with the purpose to create a good communication between the speaker and the hearer.

In reference to the explanations above, the researcher is interested in analyzing the existence of politeness strategies in a political debate. Furthermore, this research will also relate it to the genders issue. Formerly, many sociolinguists believe

that women are usually more aware than men in using language. However nowadays, there are no more borders between women and men's role in society including in politics. The researcher assumes that the use of politeness strategies in cross-gender communication is needed to be discussed further to find out whether the differences in using language between men and women is still exist or not, especially in the world of politics.

These issues are reflected in the object of this study, which is a debate transcript entitled "Democratic Debate in Cleveland, Ohio". This debate was held at February 26, 2008 in Cleveland, Ohio, USA. The speakers of the debate are Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton and Senator Barack Obama as the candidates from the Democratic Party for the election of US President 2008. The object of the study will be analyzed through politeness theory by Leech (1983), in which he introduces six politeness maxims, including; tact maxim, generosity maxim, approbation maxim, modesty maxim, agreement maxim, and sympathy maxim. Additionally, this research also deals with Shearle's categories of illocutionary act since it is used in forming the politeness strategies. These categories of illocutionary acts consist of assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives.

## **B. Identification of the problems**

From the research object, a Democratic Debate transcript between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton on February 26, 2008, many linguistics problems can be found. In a debate, language becomes something that must be focused on. The

speakers of a debate should choose their language carefully as a strategy in order to win the debate. The speaker who can choose a right strategy will be easily convey his/her arguments and break the opponent's arguments.

Conversational implicature also can be found in the object of the research. Yule (1996: 40) states that the participants of a conversation tend to obey the cooperative principles and its maxims. Speakers sometimes use an additional unstated meaning that has to be assumed in order to maintain the cooperative principles. When it is the case, then the implicature can be found in the conversation.

Another problem which appears in the object of this research is the differences between woman and man language. Many researches have been conducted related to this problem, one of them is Pearson (1985: 183), in which he states that the different use of language between men and women exists and it is based on the stereotyping between them in society. Women generally are portrayed more aware in their use of language than men, including in the use of politeness strategy.

Regardless of gender and language issues, the use of politeness in a debate can be something which is interesting to be analyzed. It is because a debate requires the speakers to defend their argumentations, however they must respect each other as well. Therefore, the use of politeness strategy is also important in a debate.

### **C. Research Focus**

According to the identification of the problems above, the researcher found that there are many studies can be conducted based on this object. However, the problem in this research is only limited on the study about politeness. As it is known, some researches in linguistics has found out that women likely more polite in using language than men. Thus, this research analyzes the use of politeness in both men and women's language used in the debate.

Thus, this research focuses on analyzing whether there are differences in term of the use of politeness strategies between woman and man debate candidate which are reflected by the use of politeness principles' maxims. Moreover, this research also analyses the application of the illocutionary acts' categories which form the politeness strategies in the debate. These are reflected on the object of this research, i.e. the Democratic Debate transcript held on February 26, 2008 between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama.

### **D. Formulation of the problems**

Based on the research focus, the researcher formulates the problems as follows.

1. What are the types of politeness principles which are mostly used by the woman and man candidate in the February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate transcript between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton?

2. What are the types of illocutionary acts which form the politeness strategies in the February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate transcript between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton?

#### **E. The Objectives of the Research**

In reference to the formulation of the problem as mentioned above, the objectives of the research are:

1. to describe the types of politeness principles which are mostly used by the woman and man candidate in the February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate transcript between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, and
2. to document the types of illocutionary acts which form the politeness strategies in the February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate transcript between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.

#### **F. Significance of the research**

The research contributions can be differed as theoretical and practical contribution. Theoretically, this research is hopefully able to give linguistics informations in relation to the analysis politeness strategies. Practically, this research is dedicated to the students of English Language and Literature Department, especially for the linguistics' students. The findings of the study are expected to be one of references and alternative information about how to applied pragmatics theory, especially those that are related to politeness strategies.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THEORETICAL REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter deals with the underlying theories used in this research. Some theories which deal with this research are Sociolinguistics, Pragmatics, Women and Men Language, Politeness Strategies and Debate.

#### **A. Theoretical Descriptions**

Politeness is the major theories that is discussed in this chapter. Moreover, there are also other theories which are discussed in this chapter. This theoretical descriptions are discussed below.

##### **1. Sociolinguistics**

Sociolinguistics is a branch of Linguistics which concerns with the scientific study of language. According to Spolsky (1998:3), sociolinguistics studies several things, such as the connection between language and society, between language's users and society in where the language's users live. He also states that one of the primary function of language is to transfer meaning, moreover language is also used to create and maintain the social relationship between the debaters of the conversation. In line with Spolsky (1998), Holmes (1995:1) also states that sociolinguistics deals with language and society. It explains about the different use of language in different social contexts and identifies the social function of language in conveying the social meaning.



Moreover, Radford et al. (2009: 14) state that in maintaining the relationship between language and society there are three factors which must be taken into account. Those factors are, firstly, the social backgrounds of both the speaker and the addressee (including age, sex, social class, ethnic background, degree of integration into their neighbourhood), secondly, the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, (for instances good friends, employer-employee, teacher-pupil, grandmother-grandchild) and thirdly, the context and the manner of the interaction (for examples in supermarket, in a TV studio, in church, loudly, whispering, over the phone, by fax).

Wardhaugh (2006:10-11) also emphasizes the relation between language and society. He explains that there are some possible relationship between them, for examples, a language may be influenced by social structure or vice versa and they also may influence each other or there may be no relationship at all between them.

In reference to those definitions, it can be concluded that sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship between language and society. This study focuses on how language is used by the individual speaker and groups of speakers in its social context.

## 2. Scope of Sociolinguistics

- a. The stereotype between men and women's language and its relationship with politeness

Gender stereotype is a reality that exists in society since long times ago. Related to this case, Talbot (in Holmes, 2003: 468) defines the meaning of stereotype, he explains that stereotyping someone means to give a certain label related to attitude, personality and any others which can interpret a whole group. In line with this definition, women are generally considered as a weaker group than men. This thing creates some differences between women and men in society, one of them is found in the use of language.

Wardhaugh (2006: 316-322) explains there are many differences in word choice, topic choice, phonological and morphological which are used in men and women language. Then, Pearson (1985: 178-198) divides these differences into three types, they are: substantive differences, structural differences, and substantive differences merging into structural differences. The further explanations are shown below.

### 1) Substantive differences

Substantive differences are differences of modification or variation that occur in men and women utterances. It covers the differences in vocabularies, hostility, profanity, expletives, hypercorrection, intensifiers, hedges, fillers, and qualifiers.

## 2) Substantive differences merging into structural differences

These kind of differences include such features of a conversation as questioning, controlling the topic of the conversation, and offering compound requests.

## 3) Structural differences

Structural differences in men and women language consist of investigation about who dominates the conversation, who interrupts, who overlaps, and how silence is used in a conversation.

The differences above then affect the use of politeness strategies between men and women in having conversations. It is stated by Mills (2003: 203), that in term of linguistics behavior, women are different than men, especially in using politeness strategy. They tend to be concerned with cooperation (more positively polite than men) and avoidance of conflict (more negatively polite than men). Furthermore, she explains that these different characteristics between men and women in language are as an effect of the assumption that women are weaker than men. Additionally, she says that the forms of politeness are the reflection of this subordinate.

In addition, Hobbs (2003: 01) states that many sociolinguists have explained that women are more often using politeness strategies in their speech than men. Furthermore, she explains that women use more compliments, more likely to apologize, soften criticism and express thanks compared to men.

### **3. Pragmatics**

Pragmatics is a branch of Linguistics. Leech (1983: 6) defines pragmatics as “the study of meaning in relation to speech situations”. It means that in pragmatics, the meaning of a conversation is seen through the situation of the speech itself. While, Mey (1993: 5-7) defines pragmatics as a study about how the language is used by people in their daily lives to communicate their interests.

In addition, Yule (1996: 3) divides the definitions of pragmatics into four. First, pragmatics is focused on speaker meaning. Thus, it more concerns in the meaning of utterances as communicated by the speaker and interpreted by the listener. Second, pragmatics concerns on the speaker’s utterance means in a particular context and how the context influences his or her utterance. Third, pragmatics is the study of additional meaning of utterances, in this term pragmatics deals with the use of implicature on the speaker’s utterances. The last is pragmatics as the study of the relative distance’s expressions. In this case, pragmatics more concern with the study of the utterance that should be said or unsaid. In this case, those utterances depend on the relationship between the speaker and the hearer in terms of physical, social, or conceptual, implies shared experience.

From all the opinions given by those scholars above, pragmatics can be best described as one of linguistics’ branches which studies how people use language in their conversations as well as investigate the meaning of utterances depend on the context.

#### 4. Scopes of Pragmatics

##### a. Politeness in Concept

Language is not merely used by people as a medium to transfer information or to communicate. Furthermore, it has a significant role in establishing and maintaining a relationship with others. People have to know with whom he/she are talking to. As it is stated by Chaika (1982: 2):

Human beings use language to reveal or conceal our personal identity, our character, and our background, often wholly unconscious that we are doing so. Almost all of our contact with family and friends, much of our contact with the strangers, involves speaking. And much of that speaking is strongly governed by rules, rules that dictate not only we should say, but also how we say.

In reference to the above quotation, people would be able to develop a good communication when they use politeness in communication, in which it is based on a certain rules that are developed in the society. In linguistics, it is recognized as politeness strategies and it is studied under the umbrella of pragmatics. Since pragmatics is a study of language in which it is depended on context, thus politeness itself also depends on the context and social distance in society. For examples, the speaker can simply say *“Go get me that plate!”*, or *“Shut-up!”* However, when the speaker is surrounded by a group of adults at a formal situation he or she must say, *“Could you please pass me that plate, if you don’t mind?”* or by saying *“I’m sorry, I don’t mean to interrupt, but I am not able to hear the speaker in front of the room.”* This different use of politeness is used to show respect toward the elders and in order to maintain the social harmony in society.

Leech (1983: 82) states that politeness is an important part of a social interaction. He explains that politeness is how debaters maintain harmony while socially interacting with one another. In addition, Lakoff (2005: 45) defines politeness as behaviors form found in societies in order to avoid resistance during the interaction. Moreover, Brown and Levinson (in Watts, 2003: 12) define politeness as a universal phenomenon in social interaction especially in verbal interaction.

Thus, politeness strategy can be defined as the way of people in using language to maintain good relationship while they are having interaction or communication to others. It shows how to use the language and conduct the conversation well.

**b. Relation between Cooperative Principles (CP) and Politeness Principles (PP)**

In pragmatics, people can study about Cooperative Principles and Politeness Principles. Cooperative principles itself was introduced by Grice and it is used to maintain cooperation between the speaker and hearer during the conversation. This stage can only be reached when the conversation has a clear of information and same understanding between speaker and hearer. Grice (in Leech, 1983: 84-102) states that Cooperative Principles are divided into four maxims; Maxim of Quantity, Maxim of Quality, Maxim of Relation, and Maxim of Manner.

### 1) Maxim of Quantity and Quality

Leech (1983: 84) tends to combine both of these maxims, since both of them are frequently work in competition with one another. Furthermore, he says “the amount of information *s* gives is limited by *s*’s wish to avoid telling an untruth.” Therefore, the speaker expected to give a simple information to avoid false predicted. Take a look the sentence below:

*“I’m not sure if this is right, but I heard it was a secret ceremony in Hawaii”*

The sentence above violates both maxim of quantity and quality. It violates maxim of quantity since the information is not conveyed as informative as is required. Then, it violates maxim of quality since the speaker is doubt about the truth of the information that she/he convey.

### 2) Maxim of Relation

In maintaining the maxim of relation, debaters should be relevant in establishing conversation. According to Leech (1983: 93), the meaning of a conversation depends on the interpretation of the hearers. As it is exemplified below:

*Elizabeth : Where is my box of chocolate?*

*Mother : The children were in your room this morning.*

At glance, the answer of the question above seems irrelevant with the question. However, mother’s reply is actually relevant to Elizabeth’s question. In this case suppose mother doesn’t know about the box of chocolate, nevertheless



she try to help Elizabeth to find the answer through an implication in her answer. The answer implicates that the children may have eaten the chocolates, or at least that they know where they are.

It explains that implication can make this answer be relevant with the question. It is different with this example below;

*Elizabeth : Where is my box of chocolate?*  
*Mother : It's in your room.*

The example above shows that there is a relevance between the question and the answer. This relevance is shown in a clear way without any implication on it. Mother simply says "*It's in your room*" since she really knows where is it and when she does not know, she can also simply says "*I dont know*". Both of them are relevant with the question.

### 3) Maxim of Manner

Maxim of manner allows the debaters to 'be perspicuous'. In fulfilling the maxim of manner, the speaker should avoid obscurity of expression, ambiguity, unnecessary prolixity, and he/she also should be able to explain his/her information in order. For example:

*A: I'm not sure if this makes sense, but the car had no light.*

The example above indicates that the speaker is not aware of maxim of manner. It can be seen that he/she is doubt about what he/she says, it violates the rule of maxim of manner to avoid unnecessary prolixity by say 'I'm not sure if this makes

sense' and it creates obscurity as well since the speaker conveys unclear information. Leech (1983: 99) adds that maxim of manner is different from the others maxims in cooperative principle since it concerns in 'how what is said is to be said' while the others maxim concerns in 'what is said'.

According to Leech (1983: 80), cooperative principles are needed to relate between sense and force. However, cooperative principles cannot explain (i) why people are often use indirect speech in a conversation and (ii) what is the relation between sense and force in non-declarative type of sentence. Thus, to answer these questions, Leech (1983) recommends politeness principles. Here, he focuses on socially and psychologically oriented application of pragmatics.

### **c. Maxims of Politeness Principles**

As it is previously explained, Leech (1983: 80) concerns with discussion of pragmatics in terms of social and psychological through the use of politeness principles. The PP can also be used to explain two things which cannot be explained by the cooperative principles, i.e. the reason of why people tend to use indirect speech in their conversation and the relation between sense and force in non-declarative sentences.

Similar to the theory of cooperative principles, politeness principles that is proposed by Leech also has maxims. It consists of six maxims; *tact maxim*, *generosity maxim*, *approbation maxim*, *modesty maxim*, *agreement maxim*, *sympathy maxim*. Additionally in applying the politeness principles' maxims, Leech (1983:

105) recommends Searle's categories of illocutionary acts which can be divided into six categories.

1) Assertives

The function of this kind of illocution is to express the truth of the proposition, including: suggesting, boasting, complaining, claiming, and reporting. This kind of illocutions are regarded to be polite, but there are some exceptions, such as 'boasting' which generally impolite.

2) Directives

This illocution is used to produce some effect through the hearer's action. For examples; ordering, commanding, requesting, advising, and recommanding.

3) Commissives

This illocution expresses some future action. Such as, promising, vowing, and offering. It focuses more on someone else's interest than the speaker's own interest.

4) Expressives

It is used to express the speaker's psychological attitude toward a situation. The examples of expressive illocution are: thanking, congratulating, pardoning, blaming, praising, condoling, etc. They intrinsically polite, but there are some exception as well, such as in 'blaming' and 'accusing'.




5) Declarations.

This illocution brings the correspondence between the propositions content and reality, such as, resigning, dismissing, christening, naming, excommunicating, appointing, sentencing, etc.

Furthermore, according to Leech (1983: 131-139), before discussing about the maxims, it is important to explain that politeness itself concerns with the existence two participants; *self* and *other*. In a conversation, *self* is identified by *s* and *other* is identified by *h*. However, there is also the third parties who may or may not present in the conversation. In the below section, the researcher explains about the six maxims of politeness principles based on Leech's theory. Furthermore, the explanations of the six maxims of Politeness Principles are as follows:

### 1) Tact Maxim

Tact maxim, according to Leech (1983: 107), is the most important kind of politeness in English-speaking society. He explains further that it applies Searle's *directive* and *commissive* categories of illocutinary acts. The simple way to evaluate this maxim is by determining the cost or benefit to *s* or *h*. When using this kind of maxim, the speaker tries to minimize cost to *h* (negative side) and maximize benefit to *h* (positive side). For example:

	Cost to <i>h</i>	indirectness	less polite
(a) <i>Answer the phone!</i> (b) <i>I want you to answer the phone.</i> (c) <i>Will you answer the phone?</i> (d) <i>Can you answer the phone?</i> (e) <i>Would you mind answering the phone?</i> (f) <i>Could you possibly answer the phone?</i>	 Benefit to <i>h</i>		 more polite

( Leech, 1983: 108)

Sentence (a) is conveyed in direct illocution, which is more impolite because it contains “extreme irritation” and put more cost to *h*. On the other hand, sentence (f) is the most polite one since it uses the most indirect illocution differed to the other sentences and it sounds like a beneficial advice for the hearer.

From the above example, it can be seen that sentences have different degrees of politeness and to increase the degree of politeness, the speaker has to apply a more indirect illocution. Leech (1983: 108) argues that indirect illocutions tend to be more polite, since it increases optionality and make the force tends to be diminished. Moreover, tact maxim can also stand in only one side, such as in: *‘You can get them for less than half the price at the market.’* This sentence contains only benefit to *h* but it does not imply any cost to *s*.

## 2) Generosity Maxim

This maxim tries to minimize benefit to self and maximize cost to self. Leech (1983: 133) explains that there is bilaterality between generosity maxim and tact maxim, therefore it is important to distinguish between ‘*self-centered*’ on generosity maxim and ‘*other-centered*’ in tact maxim. Take a look at the example below:

- (a) You can lend me your car. (impolite)
- (b) I can lend you my car.
- (c) You must come and have dinner with us.
- (d) We must come and have dinner with you. (impolite)

(Leech, 1983: 133)

The sentence which reflects an offer (b) and an invitation (c) are polite since they imply benefit to *h* and cost to *s*. However, sentence (a) and (d) imply the opposite. Sentence (a) tend to give the cost to *h* and benefit to *s*. It also occurs in sentence (d).

In reference to Leech's theory (1983: 133), both of generosity maxim and tact maxim lay on *impositive* and *commissive*, like tact maxim. However, generosity maxim is less powerful than tact maxim because in generosity maxim, the *impositive* can be softened by omitting the reference to the *h*'s cost, so it is more polite. For example:

(a) *Could I borrow this electric drill?*

(Leech, 1983: 134).

The example above slightly more polite than, '*Could you lend me this electric drill?*' It is because in sentence *a*), it appears as if there is no sacrifice that will be given by the hearer from the offer that is requested by the speaker.

### 3) **Approbation Maxim**

As stated by Leech (1983: 135), the main point of approbation maxim is minimizing dispraise of other and maximizing praise of other. Approbation

maxim can be seen in Searle's *expressive* and *assertive* categories of illocution. Moreover, the approbation maxim emphasizes that the speaker should not say unpleasant thing about others. As dispraising of hearer or a third party is considered bad-mannered, so people have to use indirectness strategies with the intention of mitigating the effect of criticism. This is the following example:

*A: Her performance was magnificent, wasn't it!*  
*B: Was it?*

(Leech, 1983: 135)

Suppose both *A* and *B* were the audience of a certain performance. *A* does an approbation maxim by maximizing praise of other, while *B*'s replying to *A* by questioning back, implies that *B* disagree with *A*'s statement.

#### **4) Modesty Maxim**

The rule of modesty maxim is minimizing praise of self and maximizing dispraise of self, and it also can be found in *expressive* and *assertive* categories of illocutionary acts. According to Leech (1983: 136), modesty maxim shows itself in asymmetries:

- (a) How stupid of me!*
- (b) How clever of me!*
- (c) Please accept this small gift as a token of our esteem.*
- (d) Please accept this large gift as a token of our esteem.*

(Leech, 1983: 136)

Sentence *(a)* shows how the speaker dispraises of his or herself. Then, in sentence *c* the speaker shows a generosity, in which he or she tries to minimize



praise of self. Both of these sentences use the modesty maxim. On the other hand, the different thing is showed by sentence *b* and *d* in which they commit the social transgression of boasting. It means that they violate the modesty maxim.

### 5) Agreement Maxim

According to Leech (1983: 138), in agreement maxim, there is a bias to emphasize an agreement with other people and to reduce disagreement by expressing regret, partial agreement, etc. In short, the rule of this maxim is minimizing disagreement between self and other and maximizing agreement between self and other. Agreement maxim can be seen through *assertive* utterances, the example is shown below:

- (a) A: *It was an interesting exhibition, wasn't it?*  
B: *No, it was very uninteresting.*
- (b) A: *A referendum will satisfy everybody.*  
B: *Yes, definitely.*
- (c) A: *English is a difficult language to learn*  
B: *True, but grammar is quite easy.*
- (d) A: *The book is tremendously well written.*  
B: *Yes, well written as whole, but there are some rather boring patches, don't you thing?*

(Leech, 1983: 138)

The examples above shows that there are three kinds of different agreement sentences, they are: agreement, complete disagreement and partial disagreement. The complete disagreement is shown by sentence *a*, that sentence shows that *B* is disagree with *A*. Here *B* directly says the opposite opinion from

A. Agreement is simply said by sentence *b*, in which *B* could not agree anymore with *A*'s statement. The last is the example of a partial disagreement which is shown by sentence *c* and *d*. Partial disagreement is often preferable to complete disagreement, it conveys the disagreement indirectly way and tries to offer another option.

### 6) Sympathy Maxim

Leech (1983: 138) states that in this type of maxim, condolences and congratulations are included into courteous speech acts, even though condolences are used to share one's sorrow. For this reason, sympathy maxim minimizes antipathy between self and other and maximizes sympathy between self and other. The example below will give explanation:

- (a) *I'm terribly sorry to hear about your cat.*
- (b) *I'm delighted to hear about your cat.*

(Leech, 1983: 138)

From the utterances above, the utterance (a) is used to express sympathy of misfortune and on the contrary, utterance (b) is used to express sympathy of a fortune. As agreement maxim, sympathy maxim can also be found in assertive utterances (Leech, 1983: 132).

Moreover, another important aspect of Leech's concept of politeness is pragmatic scales. According to Leech (1983: 123), there are three pragmatic scales in politeness, these are: the cost-benefit scale, the optionality scale, and the indirectness scale.

### 1) The Cost-Benefit Scale

The cost-benefit scale is made up of two distinct scales: cost/benefit to *s* (*speaker*) and cost/benefit to *h* (*hearer*). When it is beneficial to *s* then it is at a cost to *h*, and when it is at a cost to *s*, it is beneficial to *h*, especially in *impositives* and *commissives*. However, some *impositives* which are beneficial to *h* are not always at a cost to *s*, for example: an announcer at an airport to their passengers, '*Attention, please!*' although it is beneficial to passengers but it does not give a cost to the announcer as well.

### 2) The Optionality Scale

Optionality scale refers to the degree of directness of speakers' sending utterances and the amount of options in hearers' receiving. The less optional for the hearer the utterance in favor of the hearer is, the more polite it is. The more optional for the hearer the utterance in favor of the speaker is, the more polite it is.

### 3) The Indirectness Scale

The indirect scale is formulated from the *h*'s point of view. The scales of indirectness can be distinguished into two: for the speaker and for the hearer. There is a close correspondence between *h*'s referential strategy and *s*'s illocutionary strategy.

## **5. Debate**

Debate is an event in which it is usually a formal contest of argumentation between two teams or individuals. More broadly, debate is an essential tool for developing and maintaining democracy and open societies. Freely and Steinberg (2009: 6) define a debate as a process of investigation and advocacy to reach a reasoned judgment toward a problem. It also can be used as a medium to influence others.

Moreover, Broda-Bahm et al. (2004: 13) define a debate as a medium for people to expand their ideas, share their views, and finally come to correct and responsible decisions. Moreover, they say that a public debate is a more or less a formal event in which it consists of two parties and the opponent party gives arguments to reflect their point of view against the other party.

From many definitions above, it can be said that debate is a process of discussion of specific issue between two groups or individuals, in which one of the parties usually have different ideas with their opponent.

## **6. Classifications of Debate**

Freely and Steinberg (2009: 19-37) classify debate into two categories, those are Applied debate and Academic debate. Further descriptions are shown below.

a. Applied Debate

Applied debate is based on a problem in which the audiences have a special interest. This kind of debate is conducted before the judge or the audiences with the power give decision or respond toward the problem which is discussed.

Applied debate is distinguished into four:

1) Special debate

Special debate is a debate conducted for a special event and it is conducted under the special rules agreed on by the debaters, such as a political campaign debate. The examples of this kind of debate are Lincoln-Douglas debate in 1858, Kennedy- Nixon debate in 1960, Bush- Clinton- Perot debate in 1992, Bush- Gore debate in 2000, Bush- Kerry debate in 2004, and the series of debates involving the candidates of the Democratic and the Republican Party's nominations during the 2007-2008 campaigns.

Special debate becomes popular in American political. This debate usually held among the candidates of elections in all levels. The aim of this kind of debate is to give the voters a clear picture of the candidates and their programs which then enabled them to choose the right candidates depend on their own interest. Additionally, although this kind of debate is usually with a political debate, however this debate also can be used by anyone on any proposition.

## 2) Judicial Debate

This kind of debate is conducted in courts and it is held before the quasi-judicial bodies. The aim of this debate is to persecute or to defense the person who has charged violate the law and to determine the issues of law being violated before it come into the courtroom. Judicial debate can be found in any levels of court in United States from the Supreme Court until the local court.

Moreover, judicial debate concerns with procedure which may different at any court level. One of the example of Judicial debate is a debate discuss about the impeachment trial of President Clinton in 1999. This debate is also known as Moot Court Debate in academic form. It is used as a preparation for the students of law-school to have a courtroom debate.

## 3) Parliamentary Debate

Parliamentary debate is a debate governed under the parliamentary rules. This kind of debate is conducted in order to discuss about passage, amendment, or defeat of motions and resolutions before it is discussed in the parliamentary assembly. As stated by Freely and Steinberg (2009: 23), Parliamentary debate can be found in Senate or House of Representatives, state legislatures, city councils, and town governing bodies, and at the business meetings of various organizations, such as the national convention of a major political party or meeting of a local fraternity chapter. Parliamentary

debate is also known as a model congress, a model state legislature, a model United Nation assembly, or a mock political convention in academic form.

#### 4) Non-formal Debate

Based on the explanation of Freely and Steinberg (2009: 23), in non-formal debate there is no formal rule as strict as the rules found in others type of applied debate. In this kind of debate, the debaters discuss certain topics which arouse the public's interests. There is no relation between the term non-formal with the formality or informality of the occasion on which the debate takes place.

The examples of non-formal debate are those debates conducted in a business meeting, a collage conference, an election campaign of student body officer and also a scientific and research realm, such as in a debate about ethnic or cloning.

#### b. Academic debate

Academic debate is a debate which is conducted in an academic level and under the direction of academic institutions, such as school or collage. The purpose of academic debate is not merely to teach the student participating in a debate and beating the opponent but only to teach how to become effective in debates.

The first academic debate was conducted by Protagoras of Abdera at least 2400 years ago between his students in Athens. Then the earliest school of



rhetoric was founded by Corax and Tisias. This school taught their students to plead their on cases in the court. Then from the ancient world it came to medieval universities, the first intercollegiate debate was held between Cambridge and Oxford University in 1400s. Then, debate became an important part in American education, started from the colonial education until today's education. However, in around 1900s intercollegiate debate was relatively rare.

In 1920s the tournament debate was introduced and it became popular in around the late of 1940s. In 1947 the NDT (National Debate Tournament) was formed by U.S. Military Academy and the responsibility was taken by American Forensic Association in 1967. NDT became the most popular debate tournament in America until in 1971 CEDA (Cross Examination Debate Association) was formed. Many school or collage debate teams participated in both debate competitions. The participations of NDT are selective, they must be classified from district competition. On the other hand CEDA is open to any teams who want to join the debate.

## **7. Democratic Debate in Cleveland**

In reference to the explanation of the debate types in the previous section, Democratic debate can be included into the type of special debate since it is conducted for a political campaign to choose the right candidate to represent the Democratic Party in the 2009 U.S presidential election. Democratic debate is usually held for several times, in order to give the voters more information about the vision

and mission of the candidates. One of the Democratic debate is used as the object of this research this debate is held on February 26, 2008 in Cleveland, United State and the speakers of the debate are Senator Barack Obama and Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton.

This debate, in general, discusses four problems which have to be faced by the American. Those problems are: health care issue, NAFTA, the middle-east crisis and financial campaign. On the health care issue, Hillary Clinton objects to Obama's claim that she will force people to buy the health care insurance, whether or not they can afford it. However, she will still focus on running the health insurance program for every Americans, even though she does not explain in detail about how this program will run. On the other hand, Obama shows his disapproval by saying that a similar health care plan, introduced in Massachusetts at the beginning of this year, will not include everybody in the state. He continuous to emphasize the difference between his plan and Hillary Clinton's is that Hillary Clinton will make the health insurance become a mandate for every citizen.

Related to NAFTA, both of the candidates have almost the same opinions on what they would actually do to it. Both say that they will take early steps to renegotiate the 1993 trade agreement, and may even opt out of NAFTA if the negotiations fail. The next problem being discussed is bombing in Pakistan, Clinton cites the Republican candidate's statement in saying that Obama basically threatened to bomb Pakistan. While, Obama straightens Clinton's statement through his utterances that he would be willing to strikes against Al-Qaeda leaders in Pakistan,

just in case the Pakistani government refused to act toward Al-Qaeda. The last is related to financial campaign, Obama is equivocating that the financial of his campaign is funded by the donors. While, Hillary Clinton states the same thing and she open an opportunity for any donors who support her to become the U.S president.

## **8. The Debaters**

The Democratic Debate in Claveland, Ohio held on February 26, 2008 involves two debaters, they are Senator Barack Obama and Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton.

### **a) Barack Obama**

Barack Obama was born as Barack Hussein Obama Jr. on August 4, 1961, in Honolulu, Hawaii. His mother was an American, Ann Dunham, from Kansas and his father was a black Kenyan, Barack Obama Sr. His father moved to Massachusetts for pursue P.hD in Harvard University, and Obama's parents divorced in March 1964, when their Obama was 2 years old. In 1965, Ann Dunham married an Indonesia, Lolo Soetoro and they moved to Jakarta. Barack Obama then sent back to Hawaii when he was 10 and lived with his grandparents.

Obama attended Harvard Law School in 1988. The next year, he met Michelle Robinson when he attended the Chicago Law School. They married on October 3, 1992, and then moved to Kenwood, on Chicago's South Side, and their two daughters born several years later, Malia (born 1998) and Sasha (born 2001).

Obama's political career began when he won a seat in the Illinois State Senate in 1996 and he ran as a Democrat. Then, In 2004 Obama was elected to the U.S. Senate as a Democrat, representing Illinois. In 2007 he became a candidate for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination opposed the former first lady and then-U.S. senator from New York Hillary Rodham Clinton. On June 3, 2008, Obama got the chance to become the nominee for the Democratic Party, and Senator Clinton supported his candidacy for the 2008 U.S President election. On November 4, 2008, Obama won the U.S Presidential election and defeated Republican presidential nominee John McCain.

b) Hillary Clinton

Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton was born on October 26, 1947 in Chicago, Illinois. Hillary Rodham was the elder daughter of Hugh Rodham, a textile supply owner, and Dorothy Emma Howell Rodham. Hillary Clinton attended Wellesley College and Yale Law School, where she met Bill Clinton and married him on 1975, October 11. Besides becoming a mother of her only daughter, she was also a successful woman. Her career can be seen when she held a role as assistant professor at the University of Arkansas School of Law, she also worked for a local legal aid office, and in 1977 President Jimmy Carter appointed her to serve on the board of the Legal Services Corporation, which she later chaired.

Hillary Clinton then became the First Lady of the United State in 1992 after her husband, Bill Clinton, was sworn for the President of United State. As the First Lady of the United State she served on the Armed Services Committee, the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, the Environment and Public Works Committee, the Budget Committee and the Select Committee on Aging.

Hillary Clinton's political career was begun in early 2000; she announced her senate candidacy on February 6, 2000 and won it on November 7, 2000. In early 2007, Clinton announced her plans to run for the presidency. During the 2008 Democratic primaries, she must admit Barack Obama as the President candidate from Democratic Party. After winning the national election, Obama appointed Clinton as secretary of state. She was sworn in as secretary of state in January 2009 and served in that position until 2013.

## **B. Previous Study**

Many researches had been conducted in order to analyze the use of politeness strategies in society, such as, an article which was published in 2012 entitled "Analysis of Politeness Strategy in Competitive Business English Letters" written by Fang Kan from Xuchang University, Henan Xuchang, China. His article uses the case analysis as research method to demonstrate how PP guides the use of polite language in competitive letter writings at different levels, namely, at lexical, syntactic and discourse level. As the result, the study on the politeness strategies in competitive

letters can stimulate the readers to pay close attention to how the politeness strategies are used under the guidance of politeness principle.

Another research was conducted by Gunawan, a student of English Department of Yogyakarta State University, in 2010 entitled “An Analysis of Politeness in The Second 2008 U.S Presidential Debate”. In his research, he analyzes the use of Leech’s politeness maxims toward the debate dialogue between Barack Obama and John McCain, the result shows that the use of Approbation maxim is more dominant in the dialogue than other maxims of politeness.

The similarity of these two researches with this research is that they analyze the use of politeness strategies in a language. However, the difference is on the object of the study. On the journal which is written by Kang Fang, he analyzes the use of politeness strategies which exist on the English competitive letters. While, on the thesis from Gunawan the object is almost similar with this research, i.e. debate transcript, the difference is on the debate participants. Gunawan’s research uses a debate transcript which the all of the participants are male since he only focuses on analyzing the existence of politeness strategies on a political debate. While on this research, the researcher intentionally chooses a debate transcript which is involving woman and man as the participants in order to find out the differences between them in using politeness strategies on a political debate.

## B. Conceptual Framework

This research is qualitative descriptive research, which analyzes the use of politeness strategies in cross-gender communication as reflected in a Democratic Debate between Obama and Hillary Clinton. Politeness strategies itself is needed in a conversation in order to maintain social relationship between the speaker and the listener. Gender stereotype which exists in society brings some differences in using politeness strategies between men and women. However, most studies of gender variations in politeness have not examined the relationship between situation and language use, including in political world. In politics, language is an important thing for politicians both women and men to show their power. In this case, the use of politeness strategies is observed in cross-gender communication, especially in political communication during the political campaign.

This research is under the study of Socio-Pragmatics since it combines the study of gender and politeness. There are two objectives examined on this research. The first objective of this study describes the types of politeness principles which are mostly used by woman candidate and man candidate in the February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate transcript based on Leech's theory of politeness principles (1983: 131-139). On his theory, Leech divides politeness principles into six maxims, they are: *tact maxim* (minimize benefit other, maximize benefit other), *generosity maxim* (minimize benefit to self, maximize cost to self), *modesty maxim* (minimize praise of self, maximize dispraise self), *approbation maxim* (minimize dispraise of other,

maximize praise other), *agreement maxim* (minimize disagreement between self and other, maximize agreement between self and other) and the last is *sympathy maxim* (minimize antipathy between self and other, maximize sympathy between self and other). The second objective is to document the types of illocutionary acts which form the politeness strategies in the February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate transcript. Leech (1983:105) uses Searle's categories of illocutionary act in analyze Politeness Principle, they are: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives.



### C. Analytical Construct

In reference to the conceptual framework above, the following diagram presents the outlines of the research.

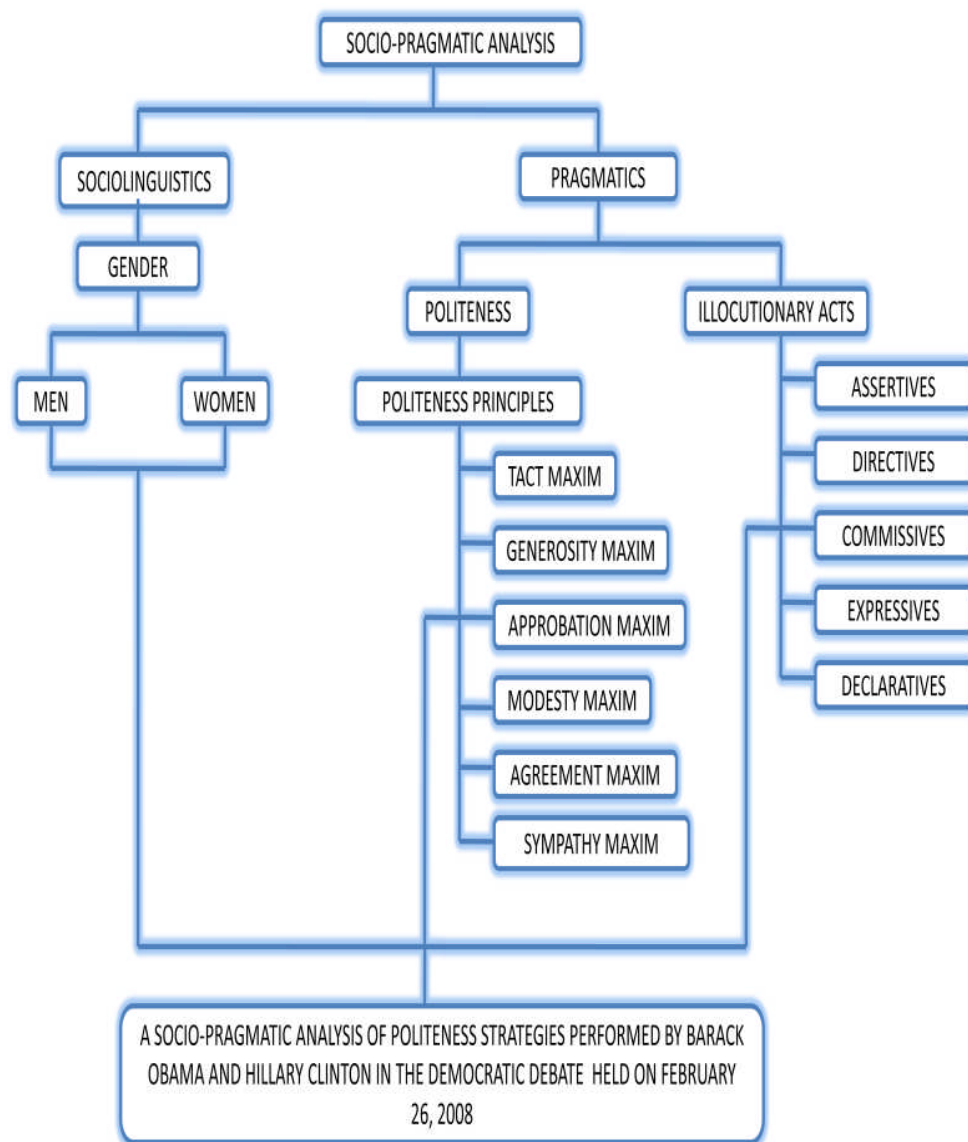


Figure 1: The Analytical Construct

## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH METHODS**

Chapter three of this research deals with the research methods which are used to analyze the data of the research. This chapter consists of Type of Research, Form, Context and Source of the Data, Research Instrument, Data collecting techniques, Techniques of Data Analysis, and Trustworthiness.

#### **A. Type of Research**

This research applied a qualitative descriptive method since it described phenomenon in the society, especially related to linguistics problem, which was the application of politeness. According to Moleong (2008: 6), qualitative research is research which purposed to identify holistically a phenomenon related to behavior, motivation, action, etc., and then describes it through words and languages in a special context scientifically. In this research, the phenomenon of the use of politeness strategy in a cross-gender political communication was lifted up. The phenomenon was reflected in February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.

#### **B. Form, Context and Source of the Data**

According to Muhammad (2011:34), the data of qualitative research are the description of the research object, reflected through words, pictures, and numbers

which are not gained from any statistical process. Thus, since this research is qualitative research, the data were in forms of spoken but written utterances which were collected from the debate participants; they were Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Furthermore, the context of data was in the form of dialogue of the debate participants. The source of the data in this research was taken from a debate transcript, entitled “Democratic Debate in Cleveland, Ohio”.

### **C. Research Instrument**

Lincoln and Guba (in Vanderstoep and Johnston, 2009: 188) state that human is the best instrument in doing qualitative research. In line with the opinion of Lincoln and Guba, Moleong (2008:9) also states that in qualitative research, the instrument of data collecting process is the researcher him/herself or he/she can ask an assistant from somebody else to help him/her. Moreover, Muhammad (2011: 32) argues that human is suitable as the main instrument for qualitative research because he/she will be able to adapt, understand, evaluate, recognize, and oversee the reality in society.

Thus, based on the theories above, in this research the primary instrument was the researcher herself. As the main instrument, the researcher had the role of planning, collecting, analyzing, and reporting the research findings. Beside the researcher herself, the data sheets were employed as supporting instrument. The data sheets can be seen below:

A. Table 1. Barack Obama's data

No	Data Code	Sentences	Type of Politeness Maxims						Type of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
1	08/01/BO	Well, first of all, I take Senator Clinton at her word that she knew nothing about the photo. So I think that's something that we can set aside.	√							√				Obama seems to receive Clinton's words and he tries to indicate something else which is more important.

B. Table 2. Hillary Clinton's data

No	Data Code	Sentences	Type of Politeness Maxims						Type of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
1	02/01/HC	You know, no matter what happens in this contest -- and I am honored, I am honored to be here with Barack Obama.			√							√		This sentence shows that regardless of these differences on the previous debate and what will happen on this debate, Clinton wants to convey her respect for Obama.

Note:

a. Coding

08/01/BO/HC : dialogue number/ line of the dialogue/ Barack Obama/ Hillary Clinton

b. Types of politeness principles

T: Tact maxim

G: Generosity maxim

A: Approbation maxim

M: Modesty maxim  
 AG: Agreement maxim  
 S: Simpathy maxim

c. Types of illocution

As: Assertives  
 D : Directives (Impositive)  
 C : Commissives  
 E : Expressives  
 De: Declarations

**D. Data collecting techniques**

According to Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009: 189), data in qualitative research can be collected through many ways, such as, interviewing, ethnographic observation, analysis of documents and material culture, and visual analysis. In reference to the theory above, the data of this research were collected by doing analysis for documents and material culture on a written text, i.e. “Democratic Debate in Cleveland, Ohio’s script”. Moreover, in collecting the data, two different techniques from Muhammad *Simak* and *Catat* technique were applied in this research. According Muhammad (2011: 217), *Simak* is a technique to obtain the data by observing the language use. While, *Catat* is a note taking technique written on a data card and then the researcher conducts the classification of the data (Muhammad, 2011:211).

The data of this research were collected by using the following step. The researcher read the script comprehensively and interpretatively. Then, observation

was applied to collect the data from the script. After being collected, the researcher identified and selected the data, and then they were classified according to particular classifications. After all the data were identified and selected, they were transferred into the data sheets.

#### **E. Techniques of Data Analysis**

In this research, the techniques of data analysis were gained through qualitative analysis. Bogdan and Biklen (in Moleong, 2008: 248) describe qualitative analysis as an analysis which is done by working, organizing, categorizing, and finding the pattern of the data then deciding what is important related to the data analysis. In this research, the data were collected from a debate script entitled “Democratic Debate in Cleveland, Ohio”, then the researcher categorized the data based on the Leech’s theory of Politeness Principles and Searle’s Illocutionary act categories and finally summarized and concluded the data analysis based on the objectives of the research. Beside the qualitative analysis, since the object of this research was a dialogue script, then this research also applied textual analysis method, as stated by Vandetstoepe and Johnston (2009: 210), textual analysis is an analysis which emphasizes on the identification and interpretation of verbal and non-verbal sign of the data. Here, the researcher interpreted the collected data to find the meaning and the right category of the data based on the theories which were used.

## **F. Trustworthiness of the data**

To gain the trustworthiness, the researcher should recheck the data in four criteria; credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability (Moleong, 2008:324-325). Credibility is used to ensure the correctness of the data. Credibility can be gained by using triangulation of the data. Dependability deals with the possibility to recheck the data or to repeat the data collecting process on the same circumstance. Then, Conformability has a function to measure how far the finding and interpretation of the data according to the point of view of many people, thus, the objectivity of the result can be gained. Transformability, deals with the sufficient information that determines whether the data findings are appropriate or not to be applied if the situation changes.

In this research, to achieve those trustworthiness' criteria, the researcher applied credibility process. It has been explained above that credibility purposes to achieve the validity of the data by using the triangulation. The triangulation process in this research was gained through the consultations with her lectures regularly from the beginning until the end of the research process. The peer discussion was conducted to check the data analysis. The researcher asked two students from English department who are majoring Linguistics to do the validation of the data. While, doing the discussion with the researcher's lectures were useful in getting the correctness of the findings and the data's interpretation.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

#### A. Research Findings

This section consists of two parts. the first part describes the findings for the types of politeness principles which are used by the both participants in the February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate and the second part describes the types of illocutionary acts which form the politeness strategies in the debate. From the object of the research, the researcher found total 80 data which consist of 37 data from Hillary Clinton's statements and 43 data from Barack Obama's statements.

##### 1. Types of Politeness Principles Found in Woman and Man Participant of the February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate

Table 3 below provides the descriptions related to the use of politeness principle's maxims which are used by Obama and Clinton in the debate, including approbation maxim, tact maxim, generosity maxim, agreement maxim, modesty maxim, and sympathy maxim. The below Table indicates their occurrence frequency and its percentage of the total data.

Table 3: Types of Politeness Principle's Maxims in the Debate

Types of Politeness Principles	Total Data		Barack Obama		Hillary Clinton	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Approbation maxim	24	30%	16	37%	8	21%
Tact maxim	18	22.5%	9	21%	9	24%
Generosity maxim	17	21.25%	6	14%	11	30%
Agreement maxim	10	12.5%	6	14%	4	11%
Modesty maxim	6	7.5%	2	5%	4	11%
Sympathy maxim	5	6.25%	4	9%	1	3%
<b>TOTAL</b>	80	100%	43	100%	37	100%



As it is drawn in Table 3, the approbation maxim is in the highest rank with 24 data out of the 80 data. It is followed by the tact maxim in the second rank with 18 data. The third rank is the generosity maxim which occurs in 17 data. The agreement maxim is in the fourth rank with 10 data out of the total data. Meanwhile, the occurrence of the modesty maxim and sympathy maxim is found less than 10%. The modesty maxim is in the fifth rank with 6 data, while sympathy maxim is in the last rank, in which it occurs in 5 data.

In Obama's statements, the approbation maxim is also in the first rank with 16 data out of 43 data. The second rank in Obama's statement is tact maxim and it occurs in 9 data. Meanwhile, in the third and fourth rank is generosity maxim and agreement maxim, both of which are found in the same frequency of occurrence, that is 6 data for each of the types. Then, in the fifth rank is sympathy maxim and in the last rank is modesty maxim, both of which are found less than 10%.

Moreover, the generosity maxim is in the first rank in Clinton's statements with 11 data out of 37 data. The second rank is tact maxim with 9 data. The approbation maxim follows in the third rank with 9 data. The same frequency also found in agreement maxim and modesty maxim with 4 data for each of the types. Then the last rank is sympathy maxim with only 1 datum out of the total data.

## 2. Types of Illocutionary Acts which Form the Politeness Strategies on the February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate

The use of illocutionary acts to form the politeness strategies during the debate is drawn by Table 4 below. Four types of illocutionary acts out of five are found in the debate. They are: assertives, expressives, commissives, and directives. The occurrence frequency and its percentage of the total data are shown in the following Table.

Table 4: Types of Illocutionary Acts in the Debate

Types of Illocutionary act	Total Data		Barack Obama		Hillary Clinton	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Assertives	25	31%	17	39%	8	22%
Expressives	20	25%	11	26%	9	24%
Commissives	19	24%	8	19%	11	30%
Directives	16	20%	7	16%	9	24%
Declaratives	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	80	100%	43	100%	37	100%

Table 4 shows that assertives is in the first rank with 25 data out of the total 80 data. Expressives then follows in the second rank with 20 data. In the third rank is commissives with 19 data. Then the last type with the lowest rank found in the debate is directives with only 16 data out of the total data.

Furthermore, assertives also becomes the first rank in Obama's statement during the debate with 17 data out of the total data. It is followed by expressives in the second rank with 11 data. The third rank is commissives and it occurs in 8 data. Then the last rank is the directives which occur in 7 data.

In Clinton's statements, commissives is in the first rank with 11 data out of the 37 data. In the second and third rank are expressives and directives which have the same frequency, which is 9 data for each of the types. Meanwhile, in the last rank is assertives which occurs in 8 data out of the total data.

## **B. Discussions**

The findings above show that Obama used politeness strategies more often than Clinton in his statements during the debate. It indicates that the use of politeness strategies in the man candidate was higher than in the woman candidate. This research finding is different compared with some sociolinguistics theories which mention that the woman is usually more polite than the man in using language. In the previous chapters, it is explained that the differences in language use between women and men are formed because of the existence of stereotype in society that women are generally weaker than men. This stereotype affects the roles of women and men in society as well as the use of language between them including, the use of politeness strategies in their daily conversation. However, this research may indicate that this stereotype begins to be faded in the society. It is shown by how Clinton, as the woman politician, used language during the debate. She tended to be direct and unequivocal in using language compared to Obama. Another factor which influences Clinton's language in this debate is the Clinton's experiences in politics. Compared to Obama, Clinton had more experiences in politics for more than 30 years. In this debate, Clinton wanted to show her experiences through her language which was more direct. Meanwhile, one of the reasons of the politeness strategies'

application in Obama's statements was because he wanted to show his respect toward Clinton as his senior in politics.

On the other side, this research shows that politeness strategies are also important to be used in a conversation, especially in a political campaign. Obama could successfully reduce the tensions which arise during the debate between himself and his opponent or other parties through the use of politeness strategies. Furthermore, the discussions of politeness strategies which are used during the debate are presented in six types of politeness principle's maxim based on Leech's theory (1983) and the discussions of the illocutionary act types which are used to form the politeness strategies in the debate.

### **1. The Use of Politeness Principle's Maxims by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton**

This analysis is based on Leech's theory (1983) related to the analysis of politeness strategy. He introduces six kinds of maxims to analyze the politeness strategy in a conversation. They are divided into: tact maxim, generosity maxim, approbation maxim, modesty maxim, agreement maxim, and the last is sympathy maxim. In applying this theory, the concept of '*self*' and '*other*' is needed. Additionally, the findings show that Obama uses more often politeness strategies than Clinton. Further explanations are shown by the data below. The data are served as the explanations of the use of politeness principles' maxims by Obama and Hillary.

### a. Tact Maxim

The concept of tact maxim is for minimizing cost to other and maximizing benefit to other. Thus, this kind of maxim concerns with the use of politeness strategy to 'other'. On the other hand, in the tact maxim, the speaker concerns more with giving benefit to the hearer or to the other party. Tact maxim lays in directives and commissive statements. Obama and Clinton were found apply tact maxim with the same frequency during the debate. Then, the examples of the use of tact maxim done by both candidates are discussed below.

#### 1) Barack Obama

The tact maxim in Obama's statements were used to deliver his statements which beneficial to his opponent, audience and others third-party. Obama used tact maxim as a strategies to maintain good relationship between himself and the other parties, reduce the tension during the debate as well as to deliver his programs or promises to the audience. Furthermore, the use of tact maxim in Obama's dialogue can be seen from the below data.

- (4.1) **Well, first of all, I take Senator Clinton at her word that she knew nothing about the photo. So I think that's something that we can set aside.** I do want to focus on the issue of health care, because Senator Clinton has suggested that the flyer that we put out, the mailing that we put out was inaccurate. (08/01/BO)

This statement is a part of Obama's dialogue as his response to Clinton's objection toward the moderator accusation. The moderator asked

Clinton for her clarification related to the campaign fraud that was done by her team through uploading a photo via a website. She denied that accusation and said that she did not know about it. She planned to take an action if it could be proved that there was someone in her team really did the black campaign. Obama was able to accept Clinton's statements and he tried to discuss another thing which he considered more important.

Tact maxim is shown by the datum above since Obama as the speaker was not provoked by the moderators' accusation against Clinton. Whereas, this issue indeed could be taken by Obama to discredit Clinton. However, from the statement it is known that he could take Clinton's clarification and did not discuss this problem further. Besides reducing the raise of tension in the debate, he certainly gave a benefit to Clinton and correspondingly he minimized the cost which was accepted by Clinton as his opponent and as the third party here. Thus, it is in line with the concept of tact maxim which says that it is used to minimize cost to other and maximize benefit to other.

The use of tact maxim is also shown by the data from Obama's statement below, in which Obama is the speaker; Clinton and the audience is the hearer while the American people is the third party:

(4.2) **And part of what I think both of us are interested in, regardless of who wins the nomination, is actually delivering for the American people.** You know, there is a vanity aspect and ambition aspect to politics. (165/10/BO)

This statement was delivered by Obama as a part of his statements about his regret related to the court ruling in the case of health care decision for an American woman in 2005. Previously, the moderator asked Obama about whether or not there was a vote as a Senator that he wanted to take back. After stating his remorse, Obama implicitly wanted to lead the audience and the moderator not to discuss that mistake and convinced the audience that what he was going to do in the future was for the interest of the American people.

Datum (4.1) shows that Obama was not really concerned about who would win the election but inherently this statement shows that he genuinely wanted to stand for the interest of American people. He believed that both of the participants were interested in doing the best for their country. This statement obviously, once again, was beneficial to Clinton. The tact maxim in this statement is shown by Obama's belief that Clinton wanted to do her best for the American people. In this case, Obama gave benefit not only for Clinton but also for the American people as the third party. In addition, Obama used this kind of tact maxim in order to maintain good relationship with Clinton and a strategy to get the attention of the American people.

Then the below example shows how tact maxim was applied by Obama in order to deliver his plan related to the American relationship with Iraqi government below:

- (4.3) Well, if the Iraqi government says that we should not be there, then we cannot be there. This is a sovereign government, as George Bush continually reminds us. **Now, I think we can be in a partnership with Iraq to ensure the stability and the safety of the region, to ensure the safety of Iraqis and to meet our national security interests.**  
(75/04/BO)

Previously, related to the relationship between America and Iraq, both of the candidates, Obama and Clinton, agreed to make a withdrawal of the American troops in Iraq. However, they both also agreed to put the residual troops in Iraq in order to seek for the Al-Qaeda and its networks for the sake of the American security. Then, the moderator asked them about their stance if the Iraqi government wanted the American troops left their land without any exception, including the residual troops. Obama in this case admitted that Iraq was a sovereign country. Thus, he planned to comply when they asked the entire American troops to leave their land.

Obama, as seen in datum (4.3), offered the audience a solution toward the problem which was asked by the moderator. As previously stated, Obama admitted the sovereignty of Iraqi government and believed that they had the right to determine what they were going to do in their own land. Obama's statement above was conveyed as the solution to the American security if the Iraqi government really wanted them to leave. Obama recommended establishing a good relation with the Iraqi government and cooperated with them related to the Al-Qaeda. In such a way, it could be a fair solution for both of the countries.



From this explanation, the use of tact maxim is shown by Obama's plan. He provided benefit to the Iraqi government by supporting them to maintain their sovereignty. Furthermore, he also provided benefit to American government since in his plan the American government also could maintain their security.

## 2) Hillary Clinton

The functions of tact maxim in Clinton's statements are almost similar to the Obama's statements. She used this maxim in order to maintain good relationship, reduce the tension, and as a strategy to deliver her programs or opinions to the audience, in which some of them was related to some problems, such as; health care issue and the problem related to the relationship between America and Iraq. Furthermore, the use of tact maxim in Clinton's statements can be seen below.

- (4.4) I have to respond to that, because this is not just any issue and certainly we've had a vigorous back-and-forth on both sides of our campaign. **But this is an issue that goes to the heart of whether or not this country will finally do what is right, and that is to provide quality, affordable health care to every single person.** (11/03/HC)

This statement was conveyed by Clinton as her response toward Obama's allegation which discredited her health care plan. Obama said that Clinton's plan to provide a universal health care for every single person of American did not followed by a mature plan since she had not indicated what level of subsidies she would provide to assure that it was affordable for the people. In respond to Obama's statement, she said that

this problem had been discussed for many times and through the datum above she tried to convince the audience that she really wanted to run the universal health care.

From the above datum, the statement “whether or not this country will finally do what is right,” was inherently used by Clinton in order to make a comparison between Obama and herself. She assumed that Obama’s plan was not a universal health care which covered the entire American. While, Clinton believed that the people needed a kind of health care insurance, in which it covered all of the levels of the society. Thus, Clinton argued that embodies a universal health care was the best way for the government that could give benefit to the people and that is why she was going to do it. The use of tact maxim in this datum is shown by Clinton’s statement that government should provide universal health care which had a high quality and affordable for all of the American people. Her statement noticeably was beneficial to the American people.

Another example of the use of tact maxim by Hillary Clinton is shown by the datum below. Clinton used this statement in order to deliver her opinion.

- (4.5)            You know, the wealthy and the well-connected have had a president. **It’s time we had a president for the middle class and working people, the people who get up every day and do the very best they can.** (170/33/HC)

This statement was used by Clinton as her response to the moderator’s question. The moderator asked Clinton related to her opinion

of whether or not there was a fundamental question that must be answered by Obama to prove his worthiness as the American president candidate. Clinton answered that both of herself and Obama would make a history for America, and she was honored to join the debate. In the middle of her statements, she emphasized that the most important was to find out which candidate that could change the country into a better one. She believed that she was the right person to lead America, in which she believed that her experiences for around 35 years in public and private sector could make a better America. Furthermore, she stated that it was the time for America to have a middle-class president who could stand for their interests.

The statement above shows Clinton's opinion which was related to the future of America. She implicitly wanted to convey a satire toward the government when President Bush became their leader. In her opinion, Bush administration did not heed the interest of the middle-class and the worker-class society. He, on the other hand, was more concerned with the high-class society. Thus, she delivered her suggestion that it was time for the American people to choose the leader who was in favor of the interest of middle-class and working class society and the leader who would work hard for them. Implicitly, the leader was meant to refer to herself based on her previous statement.

From the above datum, Clinton's statement which said that the American president should be impartial and work hard for the middle class and working-class society had benefited the American society. Thus, that

datum contains the use of politeness principles' maxim, which is the tact maxim, since the speaker (Hillary Clinton), tried to maximize the benefit to other (American people, especially the middle-class and working class society).

The last example of the use of tact maxim in Clinton's statement is shown when she talked about the future relationship between America and Iraq.

(4.6) **And you have to...work with the Iraqi government so that they take responsibility for their own future.**  
(86/01/HC)

Previously, both of Obama and Clinton agreed to make a withdrawal of American troops in Iraq, including the residual troops. Then, the moderator asked Clinton about her stance if the Al-Qaeda resurged and the Iraqi government did not care about the American interest, while the American troops had withdrawn entirely from Iraq. Clinton later said that the moderator made a lot of hypothetical statements which were not based on reality and she thought that it would not be happened. Additionally, she emphasized that she respected Iraq as a sovereign country.

Datum (4.6) above shows Clinton's clear stance which is related to the Iraq. The use of tact maxim can be shown by Clinton's statement that she would cooperate with the Iraqi government, so basically she admitted the sovereignty of the country and she also respected that country. Here, Clinton's plan was beneficial to the Iraqi government as the third party and

it could be also beneficial to the American who agreed with the American troop's withdrawal.

#### **b. Generosity Maxim**

The generosity maxim is slightly different from the tact maxim. When the tact maxim is used on '*other-centered*' then the generosity maxim is used on '*self-centered*'. The concept of this maxim is to minimize benefit to self and maximize cost to self. In using this maxim, the speaker will tend to put the cost to herself rather than to the hearer or the third party. Similar to tact maxim, generosity maxim lies in directives and commissives statements. In the use of generosity maxim, Clinton applies them more often than Obama. The use of generosity maxim in both candidates is discussed further.

##### **1) Barack Obama**

Barack Obama used generosity maxim mostly to convince the American people that he would serve them as good as he could and to convince that he would stand for the people's interest. The descriptions of the use of generosity maxim in Obama's statement are shown by the below data.

- (4.7) **And as president of the United States, I intend to make certain that every agreement that we sign has the labor standards, the environmental standards and the safety standards that are going to protect not just workers, but also consumers.** (43/19/BO)

This statement was delivered by Obama as a criticism toward NAFTA. Obama believed that some agreements signed under NAFTA were actually detrimental to American society in general. Obama then showed his disagreement against NAFTA. Thus, in his statement above Obama wanted to make sure that any agreement would have a positive impact on society.

The above datum shows how the Generosity maxim was used by Obama. Obama promised, when he was chosen as the president of United State, he planned to renegotiate the agreements and ensured that every agreements in the future would meet the labor and environmental standard in order to protect the workers and the consumers, then none would be harmed. From this explanation, it is obvious that Obama put the cost for himself in order to protect the interests of the American workers and automatically, he reduced the cost that lies on the third party, i.e. the American workers.

The second example of the use of generosity maxim in Obama's statement is shown below, in which the datum still concerns on the NAFTA policy issue.

- (4.8) But what I did say in that same quote, if you look at it, was that the problem is we've been negotiating just looking at corporate profits and what's good for multinationals, and we haven't been looking at what's good for communities here in Ohio, in my home state of Illinois, and across the country. **And as president, what I want to be is an advocate on behalf of workers.** (59/22/BO)

This was a part of Obama's statement which was delivered as the response to moderator's question. Previously, the moderator mentioned that The Associated Press doubted Obama's plan to renegotiate NAFTA, and they said that Obama was ambivalent related to his position toward NAFTA since in 2004 Obama supported NAFTA. The moderator then asked for Obama's assertiveness. However, Obama stressed out that he opposed to NAFTA since he found that the agreements were only beneficial to the multinational companies, but not for the workers in the suburb. Basically, he wanted to convince the audience that he would stand for the people's interests by renegotiating the agreements.

The above datum shows how Obama used language in order to get the attention of the audience and to influence them, especially the American workers as the third party in that datum. In gaining these functions, Obama used generosity maxim in his language. The application of generosity maxim is observed since he put the cost into himself. The statement explains that he wanted to stand for the American workers who were devastated by the agreements. It shows how Obama maximized the cost for himself and correspondingly minimized the benefit himself.

The last example of the usage of generosity maxim in Obama's statement is shown by the datum below. It is a conversation between Obama and the moderator below:

(4.9)            **Brian, I'm sorry, I'm getting -- I'm a little filibustered a little bit here.** (25/01/BO)

This statement was conveyed by Obama as a form of a protest against his opponent, Clinton. She did not give any chances to Obama to clarify her accusation related to the health care issue. Instead of giving a chance to Obama, she continuously attacked Obama in terms of the health care issue. Since Obama was interfered, he delivered his protest to the moderator.

Obama delivered his statements toward the moderator of the debate, Brian William. Obama said the statements to convey his objection against Clinton's attitude, in which on that occasion she did not give him a chance to say his clarification and she continually discrediting him. Instead of expressing his protest directly to Clinton, Obama preferred to deliver his protest to the moderator. Obama used his language carefully in delivering his objection and the use of generosity maxim was found in his statement. He started his statement by delivering his apologize to the moderator. It shows that he took the cost for himself, whereas in fact he was the aggrieved party. Furthermore, he also used the phrase '*a little bit*' to makes his statement more polite and to minimize the benefit to himself. He actually simply could say, '*Brian, I am intervened!*' but the use of Generosity maxim made the statement more polite. Thus, Obama could also reduce the tension of the debate by saying that statement.

## 2) Hillary Clinton

Similar to the application of generosity maxim in Obama's statements, Clinton also used it mostly in order to convince the audience



that she would do the best for the interest of the people and also to deliver her other programs. The descriptions are below.

- (4.10) Well, could I just point out that, in the last several debates, I seem to get the first question all the time? **And I don't mind. You know, I'll be happy to field them, but I do find it curious.** (40/02/HC)

Previously, the moderator changed the topic of the debate, from the health care issue to the NAFTA's issue. In that occasion, he asked Clinton about her opinion of whether or not renegotiating NAFTA was a right way to protect the workers, since there were some different opinions between some parties. Before answering the question, Clinton delivered her objection to the moderator, because in the last several sessions of the debate she always got the first question related to some problems. This fact made her curious, but she did not want to discuss it further.

Similar to Obama, Clinton also delivered her protest to the moderator. It was delivered through the statement as seen in datum (4.10) above. In delivering her protest, she used generosity maxim, in which she reduced the benefit to herself by saying that she did not mind and felt happy to answer that question, but in fact she was curious about it. Correspondingly, she put the cost for herself by saying that words.

The second example of generosity maxim is shown by the datum below. In the datum, she talked about her effort to be able to run the universal health care for the American people.

- (4.11)            That's what my public life has been about. **I want to help the people of this country get the chances they deserve to have.** (170/27/HC)

Hillary Clinton conveyed this statement in order to convince the audience that she wanted to stand for the people interest, included to provide a health care insurance. In her previous statement, she said that she had advocated for the health care insurance for people in Ohio, in which they did not have any health care insurance before since the price was mostly unaffordable for them.

The above statement shows that Clinton assumed that every people deserve to have a health care insurance, because it was included on the primary needs of the people. For this reason, she made the universal health care program as her primary program in her campaign. She wanted to provide an affordable health care insurance which could cover everyone in the country.

From the context above, the application of generosity maxim could be found in the datum. Clinton in her statement tended to maximize a cost for herself to help the people in getting what they deserve to get, i.e. the health care insurance. Moreover, as it was stated before, Clinton also used this statement to convince the audience that she stood for the interest of the people.

The last example of the use of generosity maxim in Clinton's statement is shown below.

- (4.12) **Well, I will do it as others have done it, upon becoming the nominee or even earlier, Tim, because I have been as open as I can be.** The public has 20 years of records from me. And I have very extensive filings with the Senate where you can see... (122/01/HC)

Previously, the moderator was questioning about who might be the bankrolling of her campaign. Clinton said that the bankrolling of her campaign was the American people who supported her to run on the American presidential election. The moderator then asked her to release her tax runs on that day. Clinton did not have any preparation on this. She only said that she would release it as soon as possible and she would announce it as open as she could.

Furthermore, Clinton implicitly wanted to convince the audience that she was clear in terms of the campaign finance. In doing this, she applied generosity maxim in her above statement. She tried to take the cost for herself by saying that she would release her tax runs as soon as possible. Thus, she fulfilled the concept of generosity maxim to maximize the cost for self.

### c. **Approbation Maxim**

The concept of approbation maxim is to minimize dispraise of other and to maximize praise of other. Similar to tact maxim, this maxim concerns with the use of politeness strategy to 'other' as well. Thus, the speaker tends to give praises to her/his hearers or the other party. On the other hand, they tend to avoid saying unpleasant things about the hearers

or the other party. The approbation maxim is applicable in illocutionary functions classified as expressive and assertive. Obama applies this kind of maxim more often than Clinton in their statements. Furthermore, the use of approbation maxim in Obama and Clinton's statements during the debate are shown below.

1) Barack Obama

Obama used approbation maxim more often compared with the use of other maxims. In Obama's statements approbation maxims were used mostly to convey his praise to his opponent, Hillary Clinton. Obama also conveyed praise for the American friendly countries, such as; Israel. The use of approbation maxim in Obama's statements is described further along with the sample of data.

- (4.13)            And what I have said is, when I am the nominee, if I am the nominee -- because we've still got a bunch of contests left, and **Senator Clinton is a pretty tough opponent** – (116/01/BO)

The moderator said that last year, if Obama was the nominee then he was going to support the public financing in the general election of the campaign. Then the moderator asked him to make the agreement on that. However, Obama dodged with the reason because he was not the legal nominee yet. He still fought to defeat Clinton on the Democratic election in order to get the position as a nominee. Furthermore, he admitted that Clinton was a tough opponent to be defeated.

The statement which is shown by datum (4.13) above was used by Obama to convey his praise to Clinton. In the datum, Obama was not really sure that he would be the official nominee for the Democratic Party because he assumed that his opponent, Hillary Clinton, was a tough candidate as well. It is obvious that approbation maxim was applied by Obama on that datum. This is marked by Obama's statement which tended to be a compliment toward Clinton. Moreover, his compliment was reinforced with his previous statement that he was quite uncertain to himself. It shows that Obama really considered that Clinton was a very strong opponent. Here, Obama tried to maximize the praise for Clinton.

Datum (4.14) also shows the use of approbation maxim in Obama's statement. Here, he used it in order to give a compliment toward the U.S workers.

(4.14)           What I said was that NAFTA and other trade deals can be beneficial to the United States, **because I believe every U.S. worker is as productive as any worker around the world. And we can compete with anybody.** (59/14/BO)

When moderator asked about Obama's stance toward NAFTA, Obama said that in 2004 he supported these agreements by talking to farmers that the agreements were going to be beneficial. However, in this debate he said that he objected to these agreements. Obama explained further that. In 2004, NAFTA would be beneficial because he believed on the workers' capability to compete in the globalization era. However, the

reality was different; the agreements created some bad effects. Therefore, Obama opposed to the NAFTA now.

From the context above, it is known that the reason of Obama's support to NAFTA in 2004 is because he had the confidence that the farmers and workers had a good ability to compete with others countries. The approbation maxim was applied by Obama in the datum above. It is shown by Obama's statement that U.S workers and farmers were as productive as others workers in the world and they had ability to compete. This statement was a compliment for the workers and farmers. Thus, it was obvious how Obama used the approbation maxim in this statement; he maximized praise for others (in this case, workers and farmers).

The next application of approbation maxim in Obama's statement is shown by the datum below. In this datum, Obama applied the Approbation maxim related to the relationship between America and Israel. In his statement, Obama emphasized that America and Israel had a special relationship.

(4.15)        **I think they are one of our most important allies in the region, and I think that their security is sacrosanct** and that the United States is in a special relationship with them, as is true with my relationship with the Jewish community.  
(136/04/BO)

Obama's used that statement to answer the moderator's question and answered the worry of the American-Jewish community. Previously, Obama was reported for getting a support from Louis Farrakhan, he is an American Muslim who is also anti-Semitic figure. Barack Obama then

asserted that he rejected the Farrakhan's support and emphasized that between himself and Jewish community there was a really good relationship as well as the relationship between America and Israel and he did not tolerate the anti-Semitic people. Through datum (4.15) above, Obama told the reason of this special relationship between them.

In his statement, he applied the approbation maxim. It was indicated by Obama who seemed to be careful in his words and avoided in saying unpleasant thing about the Jewish community and Israel. There were two things that indicated the Obama's compliment in the datum. Firstly, he said that Israel was the most important allies for America; it can be said that Israel had a great influence for American interest compared to other countries on the region. Secondly, he said that their security was sacrosanct; it might be related to the strong influence of Jewish community in America. These two things explained how the approbation maxim was applied in the datum, Obama clearly maximized the praises for Israel and Jewish community.

## 2) Hillary Clinton

From the data which were collected, it is known that the use of approbation maxim in Clinton's statements is similar to the data that are found in the Obama's statements. In which, both of them applied it to convey praises for the opponent and for the friendly countries. The data below show how it is applied on Clinton's statements.

- (4.16) No, Tim, because what happened in 2000 is that I thought Al Gore was going to be president and when I made the pledge, I was counting on having a Democratic White House, a Democratic president, **who shared my values about what we needed to do to make the economy work for everyone and to create shared prosperity.**  
(65/01/HC)

This statement was used by Clinton in order to confirm about her remark on 2000 related to the job issue. On the 2000, Clinton made a statement that she would create around five million new jobs over ten years. However, a few years later, she told that she might have been a little exuberant to create those new jobs. The reason of this opposite statement was because on 2000 she thought that Al-Gore would lead the country. Thus, she thought that he could make her pledge came true, but in the reality Al-Gore was unsuccessful in the election and she said that it was difficult to create those new jobs under the Bush administration on that time.

From the datum cited above, it is known how the approbation maxim was applied by Obama. The datum shows that Clinton had a great expectation toward Al-Gore. Implicitly, it means that she believed that he was qualified to lead America. This thing showed a compliment which was conveyed by Clinton for Al-Gore. This statement was reinforced by Clinton's remarks which stated that Al-Gore would make the economy work for everyone and created shared prosperity. Those compliments indicate the application of approbation maxim on that datum, in which Clinton tried to maximize the praises for Al-Gore.



The next approbation maxim in Clinton's statement is shown by the datum below, in which Clinton delivered her compliment for the American friendly country, i.e. Germany.

- (4.17)      You know, take a country like Germany. They made a big bet on solar power. **They have a smaller economy and population than ours. They've created several hundred thousand new jobs, and these are jobs that can't be outsourced.** (65/23/HC)

On this datum, Clinton still concerned on the job issue. She believed that if she was chosen as the president, she would be able to realize her pledge to create five million jobs. She referred to her husband, Bill Clinton, who can create 22.7 million new jobs during his tenure as a president. Her belief grew when she knew that a country like Germany could do the same thing as it is described by datum (4.17) above.

Clinton adhered the approbation maxim on the datum above. She conveyed compliments for Germany in many things. She said that they had a great movement on solar power and also could create several hundred thousand new jobs which could not be outsourced. Moreover, Clinton's compliments were conveyed in front of the audience which was the American people in order to show them an example of a country which had a good development. Here, implicitly Clinton put Germany in the higher position than the America itself. It shows the application of approbation maxim in the datum. Clinton avoided saying unpleasant statements about Germany and maximized the compliments toward this country.

The last example of the application of approbation maxim is shown by the datum below. In the statement, Clinton commented about Obama's statements related to the anti-Semitic's support.

(4.18) And I think when it comes to this sort of, you know, inflammatory --**I have no doubt that everything that Barack just said is absolutely sincere.** But I just think, we've got to be even stronger. (140/04/HC)

Clinton in this statement conveyed her comment toward Obama's stance related to the support from Louis Farrakhan. Louis Farrakhan is a Muslim leader of a controversial organization 'NoI' (Nation of Islam) and he is an anti-Semitic person. In the headline of Chicago Tribune, Farrakhan clearly delivered his support for Obama to run as the president of America. Obama stated that he denounced his support because he could not tolerate the anti-Semitic people. However, Clinton assumed that Obama's stance was not really clear since he only denounced the support but did not reject it.

The candidates, both of Clinton and Obama tended to avoid the support from the Anti-Semites. This was due to the strong influence of the Jews in America as well as the strong relationship between the America and Israel. Thus, she agreed with Obama's statements about Farrakhan and it is shown by the above datum that she believed that Obama sincerely wanted to reject the support from anti-Semitic people. In the datum which was stated by Clinton, it is clearly seen that the approbation maxim is applied, in which Clinton tried to maximize the praise for Obama by

saying that what had been done by Obama was absolutely sincere. Moreover, she also tried to avoid saying unpleasant words for Obama since this was actually an opening statement to deliver a critic for Obama. Clinton criticized Obama who was less assertive in conveying his rejection. However, before making such criticism, Clinton praised Obama first as it is shown by the datum.

#### **d. Modesty Maxim**

Similar to generosity maxim, the concept of modesty maxim is focused on '*self-centered*'. The modesty maxim involves a concept to minimizing praise and maximizing praise of self. On modesty maxim, the speaker adhere the rules to minimize praise for self and maximize dispraise of self. Additionally, modesty maxim is generally found in self deprecating expression. The modesty maxim is applicable in expressive and assertive illocutionary act categories. The use of modesty maxim by both candidates is discussed further in the below section.

##### **1) Barack Obama**

There are only two data of the use of modesty maxim found in Barack Obama's statements during the debate. In the first datum, Obama talked about the health care issue while in the second datum he talked about the support that he got from Minister Farrakhan. The descriptions of the two data are shown below.

- (4.19) **I am absolutely clear that hope is not enough. And it is not going to be easy to pass health care. If it was, it would have already gotten done.** (114/32/BO)

This statement was conveyed by Obama as a response to Clinton previous statements. He criticized Clinton who stated that she was a fighter for the universal health care. On the respond for this, Obama said that she could not make the universal health care came true if she only said that she was a fighter. She needed to have a great strategy and it was not going to be easy when she did not ask involve all the other parties to support her plan.

Obama, through datum (4.19), wanted to make the universal health care available for the American people. However, he could not only rely on the people's expectation and work alone. He needed to work hard and also needed the support from the American people entirely, including from all parties (ruling party and the opposition party). It shows how the modesty maxim is applied on this datum. Obama tried to be modest and he minimized the praise for himself. Rather than saying that he could make the universal health care came true, he preferred to explain to the audience that it could not be achieved easily. Here, Obama's statement was actually more realistic than Clinton's.

The next datum also shows the application of modesty maxim in Obama's statements on the debate. This statement is related to the minister Farrakhan, the leader of NoI (Nation of Islam), who gave his support to Barack Obama.

(4.20) **I obviously can't censor him, but it is not support that I sought.** And we're not doing anything, I assure you, formally or informally with Minister Farrakhan.

(130/06/BO)

In this datum, Obama conveyed his point of view related to the support from Minister Farrakhan, the leader of 'NoI' (Nation of Islam). He was a controversial figure in America in line with the 'NoI' organization which was controversial as well. Moreover, Farrakhan also adhered to the idea of anti-Semitism. He conveyed his support to Barack Obama to run in the 2008 presidential election. On the contrary to Farrakhan's support, Obama emphasized that he had a strong support from the American-Jewish community and they had a really good relationship.

Through the above datum, it is clearly seen that although most of the American people did not like him, Obama could not ban others, including Farrakhan, to support him. Previously, he also stated that he did not ask for his support since it could make a negative impact toward his candidacy. Obama realized that there were many parties which tended to disagree with Farrakhan's action. Additionally, Obama got a lot of support from the American-Jews community which could be something inversely proportional if he received both of the support.

However, in the statement Obama said that he could not ban Farrakhan to give a support for him because it tended to be impolite. It shows how the modesty maxim is applied in the datum. He created a negative assessment toward himself that he could not censor Farrakhan. On the other words, he downgraded himself and maximized the dispraise for himself by making a negative evaluation toward himself. It shows how the modesty maxim is applied in this datum.

## 2) Hillary Clinton

The applications of modesty maxim in Hillary Clinton's statements during the debate are found when she talks about NAFTA, the campaign and the bankrolling of her campaign. There are only four data of modesty maxim in Clinton's statements. These data shows the descriptions of them.

- (4.21) But what I have seen, where I represent upstate New York, I've seen the factories close and move. I've talked to so many people whose children have left because they don't have a good shot. **I've had to negotiate to try to keep factories open -- sometimes successfully, sometimes not - - because the companies got tax benefits to actually move to another country.** (40/20/HC)

In the statement shown by the above datum, Clinton commented about NAFTA. Previously, she emphasized her stance that she wanted to do a renegotiation toward the agreement to make it more beneficial to the American workers. She said that the agreement only beneficial to some American people, but there were some other parties who were devastated by the agreements, for instance, some factories closed and moved from New York because of the effect of the agreement.

Datum (4.21) shows that Clinton, as the Senator of New York at that time, had tried negotiation to maintain the factories remained to open in New York. It implies that Clinton had stand for the interests of American people, especially in this case was the workers. When the factories remained open then there were no workers who were devastated. In the other words, they could provide some jobs which absorbed the labors. This was what Clinton wanted in order to defend the interest of the people.

However, behind these efforts, Clinton said that her efforts were not always successful. This was due to the obstacles arising from the agreement.

From the context, it is known that the modesty maxim is applied in the datum. Clinton showed her modesty in saying that she did not always succeed to maintain the factories remained open. She showed her powerlessness against the agreement's policy in her statement. It meant that she maximized dispraise for herself and correspondingly minimized praise for herself.

The second example of the application of modesty maxim in Clinton's statement is shown by the datum below, in which Clinton conveyed that she was honored to participate in this campaign.

(4.22)      As I said last week, you know, it's been an honor to campaign. **I still intend to do everything I can to win, but it has been an honor, because it has been a campaign that is history making.** (170/06/HC)

This statement was made by Clinton. She aimed to answer the moderator's question. The moderator asked her whether there was a fundamental question that should be answered by Obama in order to prove his worthiness. Clinton states that she did not have any doubt that both of them were capable to be the next leader of America. She continued that she was proud for becoming one of the candidates of the campaign as it was stated by the above datum.

On the above datum, Clinton said that maybe she could do everything to make her win. However, regardless with the statement, she felt honored to become one of the candidates of the Democratic Party to run as the American president in 2008. It was because she thought that this campaign was a history making. The reason of her statement was because both of Obama and Clinton represented two different groups of people for the first time in the American presidential election. Obama represented the Black-American people and Clinton was the representation of the American women.

Although, firstly she said that she intended to do everything to win. However, she continued her words by saying that she was honored to join the campaign. These two statements are quite contradictory. The first statement shows Clinton's ambition, while the second statement shows Clinton's modesty. In that datum, Clinton's modesty which is stated by the second statement seems stronger than Clinton's statement which shows her ambitious. Thus, in overall, the above datum shows Clinton's modesty, in which she tended to downgrade herself by saying that 'she feels honored' for being one of the nominations of Democratic Party. Moreover, she added that she was honored because she thought that the campaign was a history making campaign. It shows implicitly that she admitted Obama was a tough opponent. Here, she minimized praise for herself and it shows how the Modesty maxim is applied in the datum.



The third datum below also shows the modesty maxim on Clinton's statement. This statement is conveyed by Clinton related to her tax return. Previously, the moderator asked her to release her tax runs as soon as possible and the datum shows Clinton's response.

- (4.23)        **Well, I can't get it together by then, but I will certainly work to get it together.**I'm a little busy right now; I hardly have time to sleep. But I will certainly, you know, work toward releasing, and we will get that done and in the public domain. (124/01/HC)

Clinton made this mark when she was asked by the moderator related to her tax runs release. On the previous question, the moderator was questioning about who might be the bankrolling of her campaign. Clinton said that the bankrolling of her campaign was the American people who supported her to run on the American presidential election. The moderator then asked her to release her tax runs on a week to avoid the curiosity of the people and to keep the transparency of her campaign. Clinton explained that she would as open as she could but she was not ready to release her tax runs on that time because she was preoccupied by her campaign schedules.

The above datum shows that Clinton could not meet the moderator's request for releasing her tax runs within a week. Clinton was not ready for that. Here, she applied the modesty maxim in order to state her incapability to release her tax runs on a week. She tended to maximize dispraise of herself in that datum since she made a negative evaluation for herself by stating her incapability. Additionally, although firstly she showed her

incapability, but then she continued that she would work on that as soon as possible. It shows that actually she wanted to do it but she was not ready for to do it within a week.

**e. Agreement Maxim**

The concept of agreement maxim is to minimize disagreement between self and other and maximize agreement between self and other. There are two kinds of agreement maxim generally found in this debate, they are: complete agreement and partial agreement. The complete agreement is used to convey the agreement completely while the partial agreement in this debate is delivered when the speaker does not completely agree with the opponent's statements. Thus, in order to maintain good relationship with the opponent as well as to reduce tensions in a debate, the speaker considers using partial agreement in the form of indirect statements to argue the opponent's statement. The findings show that Obama uses agreement maxim more often than Clinton. Furthermore, the application of agreement maxim in Obama and Clinton's statements during the debate are shown by the data below along with the description.

1) Barack Obama

The research finding shows that the use of agreement maxim found in Obama's statements is more often than in Clinton's statements. Obama applies agreement maxim related to some discussions, such as in NAFTA issue, Russian politics, and Health care issue.

- (4.24) **I will make sure that we renegotiate in the same way that Senator Clinton talked about, and I think actually Senator Clinton's answer on this one is right.** I think we should use the hammer of a potential opt-out as leverage to ensure that we actually get labor and environmental standards that are enforced. (59/01/BO)

This statement was expressed by Obama as his response toward the moderator's question. The discussion is related to the NAFTA. Clinton previously said that she would renegotiate NAFTA because it was not beneficial to some parts of the country. Clinton planned some things to fix NAFTA and to make it more beneficial to America, including, to tell Canada and Mexico that America would opt out unless they renegotiated the core labor and environmental standards.

The Obama's statement above shows that he used the complete agreement since he had the same point of view with Clinton. He thought that not all of the parts of the country were benefited. In fact, there were some parts of the country were devastated by the agreements. Thus, from this context, it is known that Obama in the datum was delivering his agreement toward Clinton's plans. When he was the next president of America, he stated that he would do the same thing as Clinton had stated, that was to renegotiate NAFTA. Moreover, he conveyed his praise for Clinton's plan by saying that she was right on this case. Then, it reinforced the expression of his approval toward Clinton's plan.

From the description above, it is clear that Obama applied the concept of agreement maxim in the above datum. He maximized the

agreement between himself and Clinton related to NAFTA. They both agreed that NAFTA needed to be renegotiated in order to make it more beneficial to every worker, local companies, and costumers in America as well as for the interest of American economic in general.

The next datum also shows the use of agreement maxim in Obama's statement which is related to the Russian political movement. Russia would have a general election before Obama and Clinton faced the Democratic election. The moderator asked their opinion related to the next leader of Russia. This kind of agreement was also included into the complete agreement.

(4.25) **Well, I think Senator Clinton speaks accurately about him.** (153/01/BO)

Barack Obama conveyed this statement in order to answer the moderator's question of whether he knew about Dimitri Medvedev, the Russian president candidate. Clinton also got the same question before, she answered that she knew about him. She added that Medvedev was hand-picked by Putin, he was controlled by Putin in order to continue Putin's power in Russia. Moreover, Clinton stated that the Bush administration had made a mistake by creating an incoherent policy toward the America and Russia relationship.

Obama, on the statement which is shown by the datum above, stated that he had the same opinion with Clinton related to the Putin's successor. He also believed that Medvedev was pointed by Putin to continue his

power to run the Russia's government. Similar to Clinton's statement, Obama was not "in the same boat" with Putin. The reason was because the Russia's policy to support the Iran's nuclear program as well as the policy to threaten the UE's countries.

Thus, the application of agreement maxim on the above datum is clear. Obama maximized the agreement between himself and Hillary Clinton by saying that she had spoken accurately about Medvedev. It means that Obama had the same point of view and justified Clinton's statement about Medvedev. Basically, Obama did not only convey his agreement related to the Medvedev, but also related Clinton's opinion related to Putin and Bush's policy.

Datum (4.26) shows the last example of the use of agreement maxim in Obama's statement during the debate. He conveyed this statement as the response of Clinton's remarks about the health care program.

- (4.26)      **Well, look, I believe in universal health care, as does Senator Clinton.** And this is -- this is, I think, the point of the debate, is that Senator Clinton repeatedly claims that I don't stand for universal health care. And, you know, for Senator Clinton to say that I think is simply not accurate.  
(13/01/BO)

Previously, Clinton conveyed her statement related to her health care plan. She stated that the health care insurance was needed by the American people entirely. She believed that the universal health care for American people could be achieved under her plan. Clinton then gave comparison between her plan and Obama's plan. She said that Obama made his plan as

mandate for the people. He would force parents to buy the insurance not only for them but also for their children.

Obama then denied this statement by saying that Clinton's statement was simply not accurate. He added, every expert had said that the health care insurance was more affordable under Obama's plan. Moreover, the cost was also lower than Clinton's plan. However, both of Obama and Clinton basically had a plan to provide more affordable health care insurance for the people.

The description of the context of the above datum shows that Obama applied the partial agreement on his statement. He actually wanted to deny Clinton's previous remarks. However, in order to maintain the politeness in the conversation, as well as to reduce the tension on the debate, he chose to use that kind of partial agreement on his statement before he stated his objection. The partial agreement is included into the agreement maxim in Politeness Principle. In his statement, Obama tried to minimize disagreement between himself and Clinton by saying that he fundamentally, agreed on the universal health care as did as Clinton and he correspondingly maximized the agreement between both of them.

## 2) Hillary Clinton

The researcher found four data from the use of agreement maxim in Clinton's statements. All of them are included into the complete agreement. They were used when she was talking about the American policy toward Iraq and Clinton's plan to release her document which was

contained her activity as American first lady. The further discussions are shown by the data below.

- (4.27) Russert: So, Senator Clinton, if the Iraqis said, I'm sorry, we're not happy with this arrangement, if you're not going to stay in total and defend us, get out completely. **They're a sovereign nation. You would listen?**
- Clinton: **Absolutely.** And I believe there is no military solution that the Americans, who had been valiant in doing everything that they were asked to do, can really achieve in the absence of full cooperation from the Iraqi government. (77/01/HC)

The dialogue between Clinton and the moderator above is related to the American policy toward Iraq. Previously, both of Clinton and Obama agreed to make a withdrawal of the American troops in Iraq, but they wanted to leave the residual troops in order to seek the Al-Qaeda. Russert as the moderator asked Clinton's stance if the Iraqi government wanted America to withdraw all of their troops without any residual troops left. Clinton admitted that she would do what the Iraqi government wanted. Since she believed that Iraq is a sovereign country and they had a right to do it. Moreover, she stated that America could make a cooperative relationship with the Iraqi government to keep the interests of both of the countries.

From the context above, it is clear that Clinton applied the concept of Agreement maxim in datum (4.27) above. She used the word 'absolutely' as the statement of agreement. She maximized the agreement between

herself and the moderator by saying that she would do what the moderator asked for. Moreover, she also agreed on the moderator's statement that Iraqi government was a sovereign country.

The next example of the use of agreement maxim in Clinton's statement is shown by the datum below. This datum is gotten when Clinton was talking about her plan to release a document which contained about her activity as a first lady in 1993-2001.

(4.28) **Russert:** Will you release that, again, during this primary season -- you claim that eight years as experience -- let the public know what you did, who you met with those eight years?

**Clinton:** **Absolutely, I've urged that the process be as quick as possible.** (126/01/HC)

The moderator asked Clinton about her plan to release documents about her experiences as a first lady of the United States. Furthermore, he asked her to release it during the primary season then the public could know about her activities during her position as the first lady. Clinton then agreed to do the moderator's challenge.

In stating the agreement, Clinton used the similar word as the previous data, i.e. 'absolutely'. In this datum, Clinton also stated her agreement toward the moderator's challenge to release her document during this primary season. Thus, in this statement, Clinton maximized the agreement between herself and the moderator and correspondingly minimized the disagreement between them because Clinton accepted the challenge.



Datum (4.29) shows the last example of the application of agreement maxim on Clinton's statement during the debate. This datum is still related to the document which will be released by Clinton.

(4.29) Russert: But you had it for more than a month. Will you get it to him -- will you get it to the White House immediately?

Clinton: **As soon as we can, Tim. I've urged that, and I hope it will happen.**(128/01/HC)

This statement is still related to Clinton's plan to release her document which showed her activity as the first lady. Clinton wanted that all the people who had chaired an important position in the government to do the same, including President Bush. Then, the moderator asked her if she could force President Bush to do it. Clinton showed her agreement statement that she would try to do it.

Again, Clinton stated her agreement by stating that she planned to fulfill the moderator's challenge. By saying "as soon as we can", it means that she would try to do it. She applied the concept of agreement maxim; she maximized the agreement between herself and the moderator.

#### **f. Sympathy Maxim**

Sympathy maxim involves a concept to minimize antipathy and maximize sympathy between self and other. Moreover, in using sympathy maxim, the speaker tends to use their feeling and concern on what happen around. The sympathy maxim is applied on assertive of Illocutionary acts categories. Obama used sympathy maxim more often than Clinton as it is

stated by the findings of the research. Below descriptions show the application of sympathy maxim done by both candidates during the debate.

1) Barack Obama

The findings show that Obama applied sympathy maxim more often than Clinton. The application of it was generally used to describe the people condition who was suffering. It is clearly shown by below example along with the descriptions.

- (4.30) But what I did say in that same quote, if you look at it, was that the problem is we've been negotiating just looking at corporate profits and what's good for multinationals, **and we haven't been looking at what's good for communities here in Ohio, in my home state of Illinois, and across the country.** (59/18/BO)

The datum shows Obama's response related to NAFTA. The moderator previously asked him whether he would make America out from the agreements. Obama said that he would try to renegotiate NAFTA since in his opinion, the agreements did not fully beneficial to the American people and even the agreements made some parts of the country were devastated.

The datum above shows specifically Obama's reason to renegotiate NAFTA. He said that the agreements were only beneficial to the multination companies and it had not been beneficial to some of the American industries, especially in Ohio. Thus, in reference to this context, it is known that the statement above involves the Sympathy maxim.

Obama conveyed his sympathy toward the communities in Ohio and also cross the country, in which they did not get the benefit of the NAFTA. Obama's sympathy was also shown by his plan to renegotiate the agreements in order to help the American workers freed from being devastated. Here, Obama maximized sympathy between himself and the American workers and this was how the sympathy maxim was applied on the datum above.

The second example of the application of sympathy maxim on Obama's statement is shown by the datum below. It discusses the same problem as the first example, in which Obama conveyed his sympathy toward the American people.

- (4.31) But when you spend as much time as Senator Clinton and I have spent around the country, and **you hear heartbreaking story after heartbreaking story, and you realize that people's expectations are so modest.**  
(169/13/BO)

On the previous statement, Obama answered the moderator question about whether there was a vote that he wants to take back. Obama then says that he regretted to give his vote on 2005 health care case. Furthermore, since he did not want to discuss his mistake further, then he changed the topic of discussion. He stated that basically both of them were interested in accommodating the people's interests, regardless who was the winner of the election.

Datum (4.31) shows that Obama concerned with the people's interest. He told the audience about what he saw around the country. He

found many people who were suffering. In saying that “the people’s expectations are so modest”, it might reflect that some of people could not meet their basic needs. It could be also a criticism for the government that they could not meet the people’s basic needs.

The above descriptions indicate the application of sympathy maxim on the datum which was used by Obama. By applying the sympathy maxim, Obama maximized sympathy for the American people by telling the condition of the people who struggled to meet their needs and he also concerned with their condition because those people did not get enough attention from the government.

The other example of the application of sympathy maxim in Obama’s statement which was aimed to describe the bad effect of NAFTA for the economical condition of the people is shown by the datum below.

(4.32) But when I first moved to Chicago in the early '80s and I saw steel workers who had been laid off at their plants, black, white and Hispanic, and I worked on the streets of Chicago to try to help them find jobs, **I saw then that the net costs of many of these trade agreements, if they're not properly structured, can be devastating.** (43/14/BO)

Through this statement, Obama wanted to emphasize that he opposed NAFTA. Previously, he said that NAFTA did not have any labor standards and environmental standards which were required and these agreements were only beneficial to the Wall Street but not for the Main Street. Then, Obama described how the effect of these agreements toward the

economical condition of the people in Chicago in early '80s, in which they were devastated by the agreements.

Datum (4.32), Obama showed the application of sympathy maxim by describing such poor condition of the people. Moreover, his action for working on the street to help the people to find a job also performed his way to show his sympathy toward the people's condition. Thus, it could be said that in his above statement, he tried to maximize the sympathy to other. In this case, he showed his sympathy to the people in Chicago in around '80s.

## 2) Hillary Clinton

The findings of the research show that there is only one datum which was found related to the use of sympathy maxim in Clinton's statements during the debate. The datum is discussed below.

(4.33)        And I want to get that money back and invest it in the American middle class -- health care, college affordability, the kinds of needs that people talk to me about throughout Ohio – **because what I hear, as I go from Toledo to Parma, to Cleveland to Dayton, is the same litany, that people are working harder than ever, but they're not getting ahead.**

(104/17/HC)

Clinton previously expressed a criticism toward the government because a lot of costs were spent on some things which were not quite right, while some of the people's interests were ignored. Thus, she stated that she wanted to fix it by bringing the money back and investing it for the people interest. Moreover, she also stated her condolence toward the

situation of the people in some parts of the country. Clinton described that the people were devastated because of the carelessness of the government.

From the above datum, there are two kinds of sympathy which Clinton wants to show. Firstly, she was sympathetic toward the government's administration which could not fulfill the primary needs of the people, such as the affordable health care and college tuition. Secondly, she showed sympathy toward the condition of the people who were suffered.

Thus, the use of sympathy maxim in the datum above is clear. Clinton tried to maximize the sympathy for the people from some parts of the country who were suffered because they could not fulfill their needs as well as their failure to get the attentions of the government. For this reason, she stated that she wanted to get back the money which was spent for the ineffective programs and allocated it for the people's interests.

## **2. The Discussions of the Illocutionary Acts Types on the Democratic Debate**

The discussions of the types of illocutionary act are based on Searle's type of illocutionary acts (1975) which is cited by Leech (1983). He divides illocutionary act into five types, they are: assertives, commissives, directives, expressives, and declaratives. The types of illocutionary act itself can be used to analyze the function of the politeness strategies in a statement. The discussions of the illocutionary acts done by both of the participants of the

February 26, 2008 Democratic Debate are explained further in the below section.

**a. Assertives**

Assertive illocutionary act is used to declare the truth of the speaker's statements. Assertive is usually applied on the statements, in which the functions are including, stating, suggesting, boasting, complaining, claiming, reporting, hypothesizing, describing, telling, insisting, and etc. Furthermore, in the applications of assertive in politeness principles' maxim can be found in approbation maxim, modesty maxim, agreement maxim, and sympathy maxim. Then, the further discussions of both participants can be shown below.

1) Barack Obama

The use of assertive illocutionary act in Obama's was higher than Clinton. He used assertive illocutionary act in order to state sympathy and tell the facts to the audience. The further discussions of them are shown below.

The first datum shows the use of assertive illocutionary act in Obama's statement, in which it is related to Clinton's position toward NAFTA, further discussion is below.

(4.34) Now, I think that Senator Clinton has shifted positions on this and believes that we should have strong environmental standards and labor standards. **And I think that's a good thing.** (43/11/BO)

In term of NAFTA, both of Obama and Clinton said that they opposed to these agreements since it was not beneficial to some parts of the country. However, Obama disagreed on Clinton's statement that she always opposed to the NAFTA because in her senate campaign she agreed on NAFTA. In the debate, Clinton said that she had shifted her position and Obama expressed his compliment toward her stance.

In terms of the politeness strategies, this statement is categorized as approbation maxim. This type of maxim is formed by assertive illocutionary act. It is shown by Obama's statement, in which he stated that Clinton had done something good by shifting her position toward NAFTA. However, when it was analyzed further, the statement was used by Obama not merely to state a compliment toward Clinton's stance related to NAFTA. Obama actually wanted to tell the audience that it was not true if Clinton said that she always opposed to the program of NAFTA. In fact, the reality was that she supports these agreements on her senate campaign. Thus, implicitly Obama wanted to discredit Clinton by breaking her statement, as well as to influence the audience that Clinton's statement was not completely true.

However, in this statement Obama softened his statement by using approbation maxim. It is shown by his last statement, in which he praised Clinton's stance toward NAFTA. Obama also used his compliment in order to reduce the tension and maintain a good relationship with Clinton.



The next example of assertive illocutionary act in Obama's statement is shown below. This statement applied sympathy maxim of politeness principle. Obama talked about the negative effect of NAFTA for the people.

- (4.35) **But when I first moved to Chicago in the early '80s and I saw steel workers who had been laid off at their plants, black, white and Hispanic,** and I worked on the streets of Chicago to try to help them find jobs, I saw then that the net costs of many of these trade agreements, if they're not properly structured, can be devastating. (43/14/BO)

Obama's statement describes the poor condition of the people as the effect of NAFTA's agreement in which many factories had been closed and a lot of people lose their job. Obama showed his sympathy and he helped them to find jobs. Moreover, in the future he wanted to make a renegotiation toward the agreements and made it more beneficial to the people.

This statement applies sympathy maxim, since Obama here was telling the audience about the people's conditions in Chicago, in which they suffered economically because of the effect of NAFTA. Thus, in forming sympathy maxim, Obama used assertive illocutionary act by telling such terrible condition. Besides stating his sympathy, Obama also used this statement to influence the audience. He implicitly told the audience that he cared about people's suffering and it indicated that he promoted himself as the right candidate to be voted. Thus, it is included into the assertive illocutionary act.

The use of assertive illocutionary act in Obama's statement is also described by the datum below.

- (4.36) I will make sure that we renegotiate in the same way that Senator Clinton talked about, and **I think actually Senator Clinton's answer on this one is right.** (59/01/BO)

Obama showed that he agreed on Clinton's stance related to NAFTA. Previously, Clinton said that she would force the other members of NAFTA to make a renegotiation and she would opt out NAFTA until the renegotiation was done. Obama stated that he would do the same thing.

The statement above shows how the assertive illocutionary act applied on agreement maxim. The assertive illocutionary act itself was shown by Obama, who was stating his agreement toward Clinton's plan to renegotiate NAFTA. Besides stating his agreement, Obama was also stating that he wanted to do the same thing to make these agreements more beneficial to the American people. Implicitly, his statement was aimed to convince the audience that he was capable to be chosen as the American leader.

## 2) Hillary Clinton

The application of assertive illocutionary act in Clinton's statement was used mostly in order to tell the audience about her capability to solve the people's problems. Furthermore, the discussions of them are clearly shown below.

- (4.37) **I've had to negotiate to try to keep factories open -- sometimes successfully, sometimes not --** because the companies got tax benefits to actually move to another country. (40/20/HC)

This statement was related to NAFTA. Clinton stated that NAFTA agreements were not benefiting for some parts of the country. Even, it was devastating. It made some factories had to be closed and moved out. Clinton had tried to make negotiation but she admitted that she did not always successful in gaining her aims.

This statement is included into modesty maxim, in which it is formed by the assertive illocutionary act. The application of assertive illocutionary act is shown in this datum since Clinton here stated that it was not easy to keep the factories open due to the effects of NAFTA. Furthermore, she wanted to tell the audience that as a senator she had done a renegotiation, implicitly she built a positive image which could lead the audience to think that she was the right person to be chosen as the American President.

The next example of assertive in Clinton's statement during the debate is shown by the datum below. Clinton's statement below is related to the moderator who asked about Clinton's tax runs.

- (4.38) **Well, I can't get it together by then, but I will certainly work to get it together.** (124/01/HC)

Clinton made this mark when she was asked by the moderator related to her tax runs release. The moderator asked her to do it within in a week to avoid the curiosity of the people and to keep the transparency of her campaign. Clinton explained that she would do it as open as she could, but

she had not ready to release her tax runs on that time because she was trapped in her campaign tight schedules.

This statement applies modesty maxim, in which it is formed by the assertive illocutionary act. The use of assertive illocutionary act itself can be seen in Clinton's statement when she said that although she could not serve her tax runs at the time, but she would try to prepare it as soon as possible. Moreover, through this statement she wanted to state that she was clear in terms of her campaign finance.

The next datum below shows the last example of assertive illocutionary act in Clinton's statement.

(4.39)            **As soon as we can, Tim. I've urged that, and I hope it will happen.** (128/01/HC)

Previously, Clinton had a plan to release documents which show her activity as the first lady. Moreover, she wanted all the government officials to do the same, including President Bush. Then, the moderator asked her if she could convince President Bush to release his documents. Through the above statement, Clinton showed her agreement statement that she would try to do it.

This statement applies agreement maxim of politeness principle, while in terms of illocutionary act, it applies assertive illocutionary act. In this statement, Clinton did not merely stating agreement with the moderator. Moreover, she also wanted to state that she would try to make

President Bush to release the document related to his activity during his tenure as a President.

#### **b. Directives**

Directives illocutionary act represent the attempts of the speaker to get the hearer or the third party to do something. Directives illocutionary act are found in the statements which the functions are as advices, commands, orders, questions and requests. Moreover, the applications of directives in politeness principles' maxim can be found in tact maxim and generosity maxim. Then, the further discussions of both participants can be seen below.

##### **1) Barack Obama**

The findings of the research show that the use of directives illocutionary act in Obama's statements is lower than it is found in Clinton's statements. The discussions about the application of directives illocutionary act in Obama's statements are below.

(4.40)            Well, first of all, I take Senator Clinton at her word that she knew nothing about the photo. **So I think that's something that we can set aside.** (08/01/BO)

This statement was a part of Obama's response to Clinton's objection and also explanation toward the moderator's accusation related to the campaign fraud that Clinton's team had done by uploading a photo via a website. Clinton denied that accusation and Obama thought that her clarification was acceptable and reasonable that was why he accepted

Clinton's words and he tried to discuss another thing which he considered more important.

The statement above shows the use of tact maxim of politeness principle. Moreover, the tact maxim in the statement is formed by using the directive illocutionary act. Directive illocutionary act is shown by Obama's statement, in which he said "...So I think that's something that we can set aside." In this statement, Obama advised the audience to stop discussing further about Clinton's campaign fraud issue because Clinton had said that she knew nothing about it. Thus, it is clear that the directive illocutionary act here forms the tact maxim, since it was also beneficial to Clinton.

The second example of directive illocutionary act is shown by the datum below. This statement shows in generosity maxim of politeness principle when Obama talks about the importance of the people's involvement in the government.

(4.41)            **And, yes, it is important for us to inspire and mobilize and motivate** the American people to get involved and pay attention. (114/53/BO)

Obama stated that the public supports were needed by the government in realizing all the programs which had been planned. In order to evoke the public's sensitivity toward the government's policy, Obama explained that it was important to inspire, mobilize and motivate the people to do it.



a senator. Thus, through the statement which is shown by the datum, he expected that people could choose him along with the capability that he had possessed.

This statement shows the application of directive illocutionary act in Obama's statement, in which it also applies the tact maxim of politeness principle. In that statement, Obama delivered his request to the audience to choose him along with his qualities as the next President. He pointed out his qualities to convince the audience that he was capable to lead the American people. Thus, Obama used indirect way to deliver his request, in which he did not ask the people directly to choose him, but he asked them to choose the qualities that he brought for a better America. The tact maxim itself is formed because Obama maximized benefit to the audience by giving them a chance to choose him and his qualities which he believed that these qualities could make their country better.

## 2) Hillary Clinton

The application of directive in Clinton's statements is higher than the one found in the Obama's statements. Clinton used the directive illocutionary act in her statements to invite, advice, and order. The discussions are clearly shown below.

(4.43)      **So we should have a good debate that uses accurate information,** not false, misleading and discredited information, especially on something as important as whether or not we will achieve quality, affordable health care for everyone. (04/23/HC)





true, the American public should choose somebody who wanted to fight for this. Implicitly, the word ‘somebody’ in this statement was referred to herself. She wanted to influence the audience in indirect way.

From the context above, the application of directive illocutionary act can be seen by datum (4.44) above, in which Clinton delivered her advice to the American people to choose the right candidate who wanted to fight for their interest, especially in terms of health care issue. Furthermore, this directive illocutionary act forms the tact maxim in that statement. Clinton maximized the benefit to the audience by stating her advice to the audience to choose the right person.

The last example of the directive illocutionary act is described by datum (4.45) below.

(4.45)            So I think that it's clear what I would do if it were someone in my campaign, as I have in the past, **asking people to leave my campaign if they do things that I disagree with.** (06/04/HC)

Previously, the moderator stated that Clinton’s team members had done a campaign fraud which disserved Obama. Clinton stated that she did not know about it and emphasized that if it could be proved than she would make her stance to ask that person to leave her campaign.

The context above shows that the application of directive illocutionary act was applied by Clinton since she ordered the members of her team who were found guilty of fraud to leave her. Moreover, it forms the generosity maxim, in which Clinton tried to maximize the cost for

herself by asking her people to leave her team. She stated this order in order to convince the audience that she wanted to have a fair campaign.

### c. Commissives

Commissives is one of the types of illocutionary act which commit the speaker to do some actions in the future. Commissives expresses the speaker's intention to do something. This type of illocutionary act included; offers pledges, promises, refusals, etc. Similar to Directive illocutionary act, commissives illocutionary act also can be found in tact maxim and generosity maxim. The further discussions of both participants are clearly shown below.

#### 1) Barack Obama

The uses of commissives in Obama's statements are shown on some statements, including when he delivered his promises and offered the audience the solutions of some problems. The discussions are shown by the below data.

(4.46)        **And as president of the United States, I intend to make certain that every agreement that we sign has the labor standards,** the environmental standards and the safety standards that are going to protect not just workers, but also consumers. (43/19/BO)

This statement was delivered by Obama as a criticism toward NAFTA. Obama believed that some agreements signed under NAFTA were actually detrimental to American society in general. Therefore,

Obama wanted to make sure that any agreement would have a positive impact on society.

The application of commissives illocutionary act from the datum above can be seen when Obama said that he intended to protect the American workers, as well as the costumers from the adverse agreements. In this statement, Obama delivered his promise in order to get the support from the people to run as the American president. Moreover, this statement also applies generosity maxim of Politeness Principle. It is formed since Obama tried to take the cost for himself by saying that he wanted to protect the workers and the costumers. Thus, it is clear how the commissives illocutionary act forms the generosity maxim in that statement.

The next example of commissives illocutionary act in Obama's statements is shown below.

(4.47)            Now, I always reserve the right for the president -- as commander in chief, **I will always reserve the right to make sure that we are looking out for American interests.** (88/14/BO)

Obama through this statement explained that when he was chosen as the president, which was meant that he served the commander in chief position, he would always do policies which were purposed for the American interest. It was included when he was faced to the middle-east crisis policy.

The context above shows the application of commissives illocutionary act. It is similar to the previous statement, in which Obama wanted to deliver his promise to stand for the American interests when he served as the commander in chief. It shows the application of commissives illocutionary act since it describes Obama's intention to do something. Correspondingly, this statement applies the generosity maxim. Obama tries to maximize the cost for himself by saying that promise.

Then, the third example of commissives illocutionary act in Obama's statements can be seen in datum (4.48), in which Obama used this statement in order to offer McCain about his idea related to the campaign's financial.

(4.48)            -- if I am the nominee, then **I will sit down with John McCain and make sure that we have a system that is fair for both sides.** (116/04/BO)

Previously, Obama said that one of his plans if he was chosen as the nominee was to make the public financing in the general election of the campaign came true. However, it meant that he needed to discuss it with the other candidate, i.e. John McCain. Thus, the system would be fair for both of them.

This statement uses the commissives illocutionary act. It can be seen in Obama's statements, in which he intended to discuss about his plan to adjust the public financing in the general election's campaign with his opponent from the GOP, John McCain. This statement can be included as the commissives illocutionary act since it told about Obama's intention to

do something. Moreover, it is also used to form the tact maxim of politeness principle in this statement. Obama gave the benefit to McCain since he wanted to invite him to discuss about his plan. So, both of them could get the advantages out of it.

## 2) Hillary Clinton

The use of commissives illocutionary act in Hillary Clinton's statements is higher than Obama. Similar to Obama, Clinton also used commissives illocutionary act in order to deliver her promises and ideas to the audience, as it is discussed below.

(4.49)            **And I would take that time to try to fix NAFTA** by making it clear that we'll have core labor and environmental standards in the agreement. (40/24/HC)

This statement is related to NAFTA. Clinton said that NAFTA might be beneficial to some parts of the countries, but not for some others. Thus, she said that she would like to renegotiate the agreements and made it more beneficial to the entirely American people, especially in terms of core labor and environmental standards.

The commissives illocutionary act can be found in that statement since on this statement Clinton delivered her intention to fix NAFTA when she was chosen as the next American President by doing renegotiation with the others members of these agreements. This statement also applies the generosity maxim of politeness principle since Clinton tried to take the cost for herself by her intention to fix NAFTA.

The second example of commissives illocutionary act in Clinton's statement is related to her commitment to make her programs came true when she was chosen as the president and the discussion is below.

(4.50) Well, Brian, there isn't any doubt that, you know, both of us feel strongly about our country, that **we bring enormous energy and commitment to this race and would bring that to the general election and to the White House.**

(170/01/HC)

This statement was stated by Clinton to answer the moderator's question. The moderator asked her about whether or not there was a fundamental question that must be answered by Obama to prove his worthiness as the candidate. Clinton answered this question with a positive statement as it is shown by the datum. She believed that both of them had a similar purpose to make a better America.

The commissives illocutionary act on the statement above is shown by the statement that both of Clinton and Obama would bring the energy and commitment to the race, the general election, and the White House. Implicitly, Clinton wanted to say that she would be consistent in bringing her promises and she would bring them into reality when she was chosen as the President. Then, this sentence applies generosity maxim since Clinton maximized the cost for herself by saying that promise.

The last example of the application of commissives maxim in Clinton's statements is shown by datum 4.51 below.

- (4.51) But this is an issue that goes to the heart of whether or not **this country will finally do what is right, and that is to provide quality, affordable health care to every single person.** (11/03/HC)

Previously, Obama stated that Clinton had a wrong plan based on an inaccurate data, in term of the health care issue. Clinton's response toward Obama's statements can be seen clearly in the above datum. It could be seen that she did not put any attention to Obama's accusation and she showed that she only concerned with her plan to run the universal health care for the people.

From the above context, it is clear how the commissives illocutionary act applies in this statement, in which although she used indirect way but implicitly Clinton wanted to say that she would concern with the realization of the universal health care for the people. This statement also, then can be categorized as tact maxim of politeness principle because Clinton wanted to give benefit to the people.

#### **d. Expressives**

This kind of illocutionary act is used to express the psychological attitude of the speaker. On this type of illocutionary act the speaker usually makes known what he or she feels. The expressive illocutionary act is shown by thanking, congratulating, pardoning, blaming, praising, condoling, etc. Then, related to the politeness principle, the expressive maxim is applied on approbation and modesty maxim. The discussions of



expressive illocutionary act found in the statements of both participants are explained further in the below section.

1) Barack Obama

Obama used expressives illocutionary act mostly in order to praise his opponent in that debate, i.e. Hillary Clinton. It could be a strategy to maintain a good relationship between them. The descriptions of the use of expressives illocutionary act on Obama's statement are shown by the data below.

(4.52) Now, keep in mind that **I have consistently said that Senator Clinton's got a good health care plan.**  
(08/06/BO)

Previously, Clinton stated that in term of the health care insurance program, there was a big difference between herself and Obama. She stated that Obama's plan would not cover everyone in the country. Obama then responded to her statement positively. He said that Clinton had a good health care program as it is stated by the datum. However, Obama used this statement merely for pleasantry since he then stated that his plan was actually better than Clinton's plan.

Although, this statement was used only as a pleasantry but Obama applied the expressives illocutionary act on it, in which he stated his compliment toward Clinton's plan on health care issue. Thus, the expressive illocutionary act which is found in this statement is on the form of compliment. Moreover, this compliment then forms the approbation

maxim of politeness principle. It is because Obama on that sentence maximized the praise for Clinton.

The next application of expressives illocutionary act is laid on the statement below, in which it also applies approbation maxim. Obama used it also to deliver his compliment to Clinton.

(4.53) **She is an outstanding public servant.** And I'm very proud to have been campaigning with her. (165/08/BO)

Obama stated this statement in order to give a compliment toward Clinton. He said that she was an outstanding public servant. It was referred to Clinton's position as a first lady and a senator who represented New York. Clinton had around 15 years experiences in political world. Thus, he said that he was proud to do the campaign with her.

From the context above, it is known that the expressive illocutionary act in that statement is on the form of compliment which was delivered by Obama for his opponent in the debate. Similar to the previous example, Obama's compliment toward Clinton also forms the approbation maxim of politeness principle in that statement.

The last discussion of the application of expressive illocutionary act in Obama's statement is shown by the datum below.

(4.54) **But there's no doubt that Senator Clinton is qualified and capable and would be a much better president than John McCain,** who I respect and I honor his service to this country, but essentially has tethered himself to the failed policies of George Bush over the last seven years.

(168/03/BO)

This statement is still related to the moderator's question of whether or not Clinton is worthy as a nominee. Previously, he stated that he was better than Clinton. However then, he made a compliment for Clinton. He made a comparison between Clinton and John McCain, in which he thought that Clinton was better than McCain.

Again, the expressives illocutionary act in Obama's statement above is formed by his compliment toward Clinton. In this statement, Obama praised Clinton as a better nominee than John McCain. This praise or compliment is included into the expressive illocutionary act. The approbation maxim also applies in this statement because Obama used this statement to praise Clinton. It means that he maximized the praise for other.

## 2) Hillary Clinton

Similar to Obama, Clinton also used the expressive illocutionary act in order to convey her praises or appreciation for her opponent or other party. However, Clinton used expressive illocutionary act in less number than Obama. The descriptions of the use of expressive illocutionary act on Clinton's statement are shown by the data below.

(4.55)           As I said last week, you know, **it's been an honor to campaign.** (170/05/HC)

It is clearly seen in the above example that Clinton expressed that she was honored to join the debate. She said the statement since she knew that both of them were going to make a history for America since they for the

first time represented the two different group of society in America. Thus, she felt honored to have a chance to join the debate.

The above statement uses expressives illocutionary act to state Clinton's praises for joining the debate. Here, this statement fulfills the concept of expressives illocutionary act since it was used by the speaker to express her feeling. Moreover, in relation to the politeness strategy, this statement applies modesty maxim because in that statement Clinton felt that she was honored for having the chance to join the historical debate.

Then, on datum (4.56), Clinton used expressives illocutionary act in order to convey her compliment for Al-Gore. Although she was indirectly says it, but implicitly she praised him.

- (4.56) No, Tim, because what happened in 2000 is that I thought Al Gore was going to be president and when I made the pledge, **I was counting on having a Democratic White House, a Democratic president, who shared my values about what we needed to do to make the economy work for everyone and to create shared prosperity.**  
(65/01/HC)

This statement was conveyed by Clinton as her response toward moderator's question. The moderator asked her related to her pledge in 2000, in which she told that she would create around 200.000 new jobs. However, her pledge had not been realized yet. Clinton tried to confirm her statement before. She said that under the Bush's administration, it was hard to make it came true. While, when she said that pledge, she believed that Al-Gore was going to be the president, and under the Al-Gore's

administration she would be able to reach her goal. However, the reality was different.

The application of expressives illocutionary act in that statement is be seen clearly in Clinton's statement when she praised Al-Gore by saying that he was the right candidate who could share her values to make the economy works for everybody. It shows that in this statement, the expressives illocutionary act is pointed out by praising other. Then, this praise indicates the application approbation maxim of politeness principle on that statement, in which Clinton tried to maximize her praise for Al-Gore.

In the datum below, Clinton used expressives illocutionary act to deliver her praise toward Obama who had decided his stance related to the support from Farrakhan, in which Obama's stance was really expected by Clinton.

(4.57) **Good. Good. Excellent.**

(141/01/HC)

Previously, Clinton criticized Obama for having an unclear stance toward the support from Minister Farrakhan, who was an anti-Semitic person. Obama accepted Clinton's critics and then he made his stance clearer by emphasizing that he rejected the support. Clinton through her above statement then showed her compliment toward Obama's stance.

From the context above, it is clear that the Expressive illocutionary act on that statement is in the form of praise or compliment. It was

delivered by Clinton for Obama related to his stance toward Minister Farrakhan's support. In relation to the politeness principle, this statement applies the approbation maxim, since Clinton shared the concept of approbation maxim itself, she maximized the praise for Obama and minimized dispraise for him.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS**

This section is the last part of this research. After the researcher did the discussions of the research findings which covered the explanations of types of politeness principle's maxims and illocutionary acts used in the object of the research, then some conclusions and suggestions for some parties can be drawn below.

#### **A. Conclusions**

Based on the findings and discussions, some points can be concluded from this research.

1. Related to the application of politeness principle's maxims in the candidates' statements, the findings show that all the maxim of politeness principle can be found on the statements. They are: tact maxim, generosity maxim, approbation maxim, modesty maxim, agreement maxim, and sympathy maxim. The researcher found that there are 80 data on the debate script which contain the politeness principle's maxim on it. These numbers of data are divided into Obama with 43 data and Clinton with 37 data. In this research, the application of approbation maxim reaches the highest rank, while the sympathy maxim reaches the lowest rank. When the application of politeness principle's maxim is seen by the use from each candidate, then the approbation maxim is in the highest rank on Obama's statements with 16 data

out of 43 data and the modesty maxim is the lowest rank in Obama's statements with only 2 data out of 43 data. Then, in Clinton's statements, the generosity maxim is in the highest rank with 11 data out of 37 data and the sympathy maxim is in the lowest rank with only a datum out of 37 data.

2. With regard to the use of illocutionary acts in the application of politeness principle, this research applies four types of illocutionary acts out of five kinds of types. They are: assertives (exist on approbation maxim, modesty maxim, agreement maxim, and sympathy maxim), expressives (exist on approbation maxim and modesty maxim), commissives (exist on tact maxim and generosity maxim), and directives (exist on tact maxim and generosity maxim), while declaratives does not exist on this research object. The assertives is on the highest rank with 25 data while the lowest rank is directive with 16 data out of 80 data. In the Obama's statements, the assertives also become the highest rank, he uses them in 17 data and the lowest rank in Obama's statements is also the directives with 7 data out of 43 data. Moreover, in the Clinton's statements, the commissives is in the highest rank with 11 data and assertives in the lowest rank with 8 data out of total 37 data.

Moreover, the findings of the research also show that Obama uses politeness strategies more often than Clinton. It shows different result from many of Sociolinguistics' theories which mention that generally women apply more politeness strategies in their conversation than men. These theories are emerged because of the gender stereotype in the society, in which it causes the differences in roles and language use between men and women. Thus, this



research indicates that this stereotype is begun to be faded, especially related to the differences in language use between men and women. In a political world like it is shown by the object of the research, men and women have the same purpose in using language as their media to emphasize their power and influence regardless of what gender they belong to.

## **B. Suggestions**

Based on the conclusions of the research, then there are some points that can be suggested for some parties below.

### **1. The readers**

The readers can use this research as a reference to add their knowledge in using language when they conduct a debate. It shows that language has an important role in a debate. In delivering the candidates' arguments or opinions, they should choose correct strategies that can be accepted by the audiences. Moreover, with correct strategies the candidates can easily influence and persuade the audiences to follow their ways of thinking. One of the strategies which are discussed in this thesis is politeness strategy. Thus, the readers can learn about how to persuade people and object the other's opinions in a respectful ways without raising the tensions.

### **2. The Linguistics students**

The result of this research shows something different from the previous Sociolinguistics' theories related to the use of politeness strategies between men and women. It indicates that the use of politeness strategies in people's

communication have been slightly shifted since some form of stereotypes that affect the use of language has also faded in society. Thus, it is expected for the Linguistics students to be more sensitive toward this phenomenon, so they can dig more information related to this problem.

### 3. The other researchers

The weakness of this research is the lack of data which are used to analyze the problems of research since the researcher took the data only from a series of debate. Hence, the results of the analysis are also limited. It is recommended for the other researchers, especially who are interested in analyzing the same topic to collect more data. Thus, the results of the analysis can be wider coverage.

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Barack Obama's data.

T: Tact Maxim

G: Generosity Maxim

A: Approbation Maxim

M: Modesty Maxim

Ag: Agreement Maxim

S: Sympathy Maxim

As: Assertive

D: Directive

C: Commissive

E: Expressive

De: Declarative

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
1	08/01/BO	Well, first of all, I take Senator Clinton at her word that she knew nothing about the photo. So I think that's something that we can set aside.	√							√				This statement was a part of Obama's dialogue as his response to Clinton's objection toward the moderator accusation. The moderator asked Clinton for her clarification related to the campaign fraud that her team had done by uploading a photo via a website. She denied that

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														accusation and said that she did not know about it. She would take an action if it was proved that there was someone in her team to do so. Obama seemed accepting Clinton's words and he tried to discuss another thing he considered more important.
2	08/06/BO	Now, keep in mind that I have consistently said that Senator Clinton's got a good health care plan.			√							√		Previously, Clinton stated that in term of the health care insurance program, there was a difference between herself and Obama. She stated that

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														Obama's plan would not cover everyone in the country. Obama then responded to her statement positively. He said that Clinton had a good health care program as it was stated by the datum. However, Obama used this statement merely for pleasantries since he then stated that his plan was actually better than Clinton's plan.
3	08/13/BO	On the other hand, I don't fault Senator Clinton for wanting to point out what	√								√			This statement was still related to the health

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		she thinks is an advantage to her plan.												care issue. It had been stated by Obama and Clinton that there were some differences in their plans. Clinton had discredited Obama on her previous statement. However, Obama assumed that what she had done was something acceptable in a debate and he could accept it.
4	13/01/BO	Well, look, I believe in universal health care, as does Senator Clinton.					√		√					Previously, Clinton discredited Obama's plan related health care. She said that Obama



No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														would force people to purchase the health care insurance regardless it was affordable or not. Obama then rejected her accusation. However, before stating his objection, he stated an agreement statement in which he agreed on the universal health care as did as Clinton's stance.
5	13/12/BO	Now, I have no objection to Senator Clinton thinking that her approach is superior.			√							√		Obama praised Clinton for her health care plan. However, he then stated that the matter was

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														Clinton had not said on what level of subsidies she was going to provide. Thus, essentially he wanted to criticize Clinton's plan, but he conveyed a compliment on the beginning as a pleasantry as well as to reduce tension.
6	19/01/BO	Yes. This is true					√		√					On the previous statement, Clinton said that Obama would force parents to provide a health care insurance for their children. Obama through this

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														statement then admitted that Clinton's statement is true. He admitted that under his plan, children would be covered by insurance which was provided by their parents. However, Obama had made the insurance affordable for everyone by providing subsidies on that. Thus, parents would be able to purchase the insurance for all their family's members.

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
7	25/01/BO	Brian, I'm sorry, I'm getting -- I'm a little filibustered a little bit here		√						√				This statement was conveyed by Obama as a form of protest against his opponent, Clinton. She did not give any chances to Obama in order to clarify Clinton's accusation related to the health care issue. Instead of gave a change to Obama, Clinton continuously was attacking Obama in term of the health care issue. Since, Obama was interfered, so he delivered his protest to the

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														moderator.
8	27/11/BO	Now, I am happy to have a discussion with Senator Clinton about how we can both achieve the goal of universal health care.			√							√		Besides all the differences between Clinton's plan and his plan. Obama said that he was happy that he had a chance to discuss the universal health care with Clinton. Since, he realized that both of them finally had the same goal which was to provide a health care insurance for the American people.
9	36/01/BO	With respect to the young people, my plan	√								√			This statement was delivered

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		specifically says that, up until the age of 25, you will be able to be covered under your parents' insurance plan.												by Clinton as his objection toward Clinton's statement which said that Obama's plan on health care insurance would not cover the youth generation. Obama expressed his objection in form of direct clarification toward the youngsters. He said that they would be covered under their parents insurance.
10	43/11/BO	Now, I think that Senator Clinton has shifted positions on this and			√				√					In term of NAFTA, both of Obama and

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		believes that we should have strong environmental standards and labor standards. And I think that's a good thing.												Clinton said that they opposed these agreements since it was not beneficial for some parts of the country. However, Obama disagreed on Clinton's statement that she always opposed to the NAFTA because in her senate campaign she agreed on NAFTA. On the debate, Clinton said that she had shifted her position and Obama expressed his compliment toward her

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														stance.
11	43/14/BO	But when I first moved to Chicago in the early '80s and I saw steel workers who had been laid off at their plants, black, white and Hispanic, and I worked on the streets of Chicago to try to help them find jobs, I saw then that the net costs of many of these trade agreements, if they're not properly structured, can be devastating.						√	√					Obama's statement described the poor condition of the people as the effect of NAFTA agreement in which many factories had been closed and a lot of people lose their job. Obama showed his sympathy and he helped them to find jobs. Moreover, in the future he wanted to make a renegotiation toward the agreements and made it more beneficial for



No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														the people.
12	43/19/BO	And as president of the United States, I intend to make certain that every agreement that we sign has the labor standards, the environmental standards and the safety standards that are going to protect not just workers, but also consumers.		√							√			This statement was delivered by Obama as a criticism toward NAFTA. Obama believed that some agreement signed under NAFTA was actually detrimental to American society in general. Therefore, Obama wanted to make sure that any agreement would have a positive impact on society.
13	59/01/BO	I will make sure that we renegotiate in the same					√		√					Obama showed that he agreed

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		way that Senator Clinton talked about, and I think actually Senator Clinton's answer on this one is right.												on Clinton's stance related to NAFTA. Previously, she said that she would force the other members of NAFTA to make a renegotiation and she would opt out NAFTA until the renegotiation was done. Obama stated that he would do the same thing.
14	59/14/BO	What I said was that NAFTA and other trade deals can be beneficial to the United States, because I believe every U.S. worker is as productive as any worker around the world.			√							√		When moderator asked about Obama's stance toward NAFTA, Obama said that in 2004 he supported these

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														<p>agreements by talking to farmers that the agreements were going to be beneficial. However, on this debate he said that he objected to these agreements. Obama explained further that. In 2004, NAFTA would be beneficial because he believes on the workers' capability to compete in the globalization era. However, the reality was different; the agreements</p>

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														created some bad effects. Therefore, Obama opposed to the NAFTA now.
15	59/18/BO	But what I did say in that same quote, if you look at it, was that the problem is we've been negotiating just looking at corporate profits and what's good for multinationals, and we haven't been looking at what's good for communities here in Ohio, in my home state of Illinois, and across the country						√	√					Obama, in this datum, showed the reason behind his objection toward NAFTA. As it was described by the datum, the agreements had not covered the American people interest in some parts of the country, such as in Ohio and Illinois. For this reason, Obama wanted to renegotiate

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														the NAFTA.
16	59/22/BO	And as president, what I want to be is an advocate on behalf of workers.		√							√			This was a part of Obama's statement which was delivered as the respond against to the moderator's question. Previously, the moderator mentioned that The Associated Press doubted Obama's plan to renegotiate NAFTA, they said that Obama was ambivalent related to his position toward NAFTA since in 2004 Obama supported NAFTA. The moderator then asked for the

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														Obama's assertiveness. However, Obama stressed out that he opposed to NAFTA since he found that the agreements were only beneficial to the multinational companies but not for the workers in the suburb. Basically, he wanted to renegotiate the agreements for the sake of the people's interests.
17	72/20/BO	With respect to Pakistan, I never said I would bomb Pakistan						√	√					Obama delivered this statement in order to make a

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														clarification toward Clinton accusation. Clinton previously said that Obama would bomb Pakistan. She got this statement from Republican politician. Then, Obama clarified that he would not bomb Pakistan, what he would do was to seek the Al-Qaeda and if the Pakistani government did not take an action toward the Al-Qaeda then America would do it.

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
18	75/01/BO	Well, if the Iraqi government says that we should not be there, then we cannot be there, this is a sovereign government, as George Bush continually remind us.					√		√					Both of Clinton and Obama admitted that Iraq was a sovereign country and they had the legitimate right for their own country. Through this statement, Obama showed his agreement to make withdrawals of all the American troops if the Iraqi government asked them for that.
19	75/04/BO	Now, I think we can be in a partnership with Iraq to ensure the stability and the safety of the region, to ensure the safety of	√							√				Previously related to the relationship between America and



No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		Iraqis and to meet our national security interests.												Iraq, both of the candidates, Obama and Clinton, agreed to make a withdrawal of the American troops in Iraq. However, they both also agreed to put the residual troops in Iraq in order to seek the Al-Qaeda and its networks for the sake of American security. Then, the moderator asked them about their stance if the Iraqi government wanted the American troops left their

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														land without any exception, including the residual troops. Obama in this case admitted that Iraqi government was a sovereign country. Thus, he would comply when they asked all of the American troops to leave their land. Moreover, in order to keep the American national security, Obama suggested that they could cooperate with the Iraqi government.

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
20	88/04/BO	I have been very clear in talking to the American people about what I would do with respect to Afghanistan			√				√					Related to the Obama's stance toward the Afghanistan crisis. He admitted that he wanted to supports NATO by putting more troops there. He stated it to the American public. Some people, including Clinton, did not agree with that. However, Obama explained that his plan was actually not to attack the Afghanistan but to protect America from the Al-Qaeda's attack. Thus, on

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														his last word he said that he respected Afghanistan.
21	88/14/BO	Now, I always reserve the right for the president -- as commander in chief, I will always reserve the right to make sure that we are looking out for American interests		√							√			He explained that when he was chosen as the president which was meant that he served the commander in chief position, he would always do policies which were purposed for the American interest. It was including when he was faced to the middle-east crisis policy.
22	88/19/BO	That's part of my argument with the			√				√					Obama wanted to shows his

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		respect to Pakistan												<p>respect toward the middle-east countries which was pointed out as the American target, including Afghanistan and Pakistan.</p> <p>Although, previously he stated that he wanted to put more troops on their territorial was surely not benefited for them. However, he wanted to emphasize that he respected these countries and said that the American target was actually not their countries, but the Al-Qaeda who might stay on</p>

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														their country.
23	101/01/BO	Sounds good.			√				√					This was the statement that was delivered by Obama as his compliment toward Clinton's wisdom words in which she essentially wanted to say that it was the time for America to change and made a better country for all the people.
24	102/24/BO	that moves us in the direction of making sure that we have a government that is more responsive to families.	√							√				Obama said that as a senate he had given the tax breaks to people who really needed them.

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														Moreover, he also wanted to abolish gratuities or luxury amenities obtained by the government officials as well as there should be clarity about their income. Thus, it would make the government more responsive to their own people.
25	102/38/BO	I would not be running if I wasn't absolutely convinced that I can put an economic agenda forward that is going to provide them with health care, is going to make college more affordable, and is going to get them		√							√			Obama wanted to show that the reason of his candidacy was because of the people's request. He believed that he could make a

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		the kinds of help that they need not to solve all of their problems, but at least to be able to achieve the American dream.												change for a better America because he was convinced by the people that he could do it. This statement was actually delivered by Obama to influence the audience that he did capable to lead the country.
26	114/01/BO	Well, I think what is absolutely true is that when Senator Clinton continually talks about her experience, she's including the eight years that she served as first lady and often says, "You know, here's what I did, here's what we did, here's what we accomplished," which is fine.	√							√				On the previous statements, Clinton often told the audience about her husband's successes during his tenure as the American president. She also claimed



No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														these successes as her achievements in order to support her campaign. Although, Obama slightly mentioned that it was such an unfair thing but he did not take it as a matter.
27	114/22/BO	You know, she mentioned that she is a fighter on health care, and, look, I do not in any way doubt that Senator Clinton genuinely wants to provide health care to all Americans.			√							√		Obama stated his compliment toward Clinton. He confessed that Clinton had a good program in creating the health care insurance which covered everyone and he believed that she would fight for that. However, he

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														stated that the mistake was on her approach to run the plan.
28	114/32/BO	I am absolutely clear that hope is not enough. And it is not going to be easy to pass health care. If it was, it would have already gotten done.				√			√					Obama explained that in realizing the universal health care the government needed correct strategies and supports from the public and all of the elements that were involved in it. It was not going to be easy without any support from these parties. Thus, it was not merely about 'the hope' but the strategies and the support

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														from the public.
29	114/53/BO	And, yes, it is important for us to inspire and mobilize and motivate the American people to get involved and pay attention.		√						√				Obama stated that the public supports were needed by the government in realizing all the programs which had been planed. In order to evoke the public's sensitivity toward the government's policy, Obama explained that it was important to inspire, mobilize and motivate the people to do it.
30	116/01/BO	And what I have said is, when I am the nominee, if I am the nominee -- because we've still got a			√							√		The moderator said that last year, if Obama was the

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		bunch of contests left, and Senator Clinton is a pretty tough opponent –												nominee then he was going to support the public financing in the general election of the campaign. Then the moderator asked him to make the agreement on that. However, Obama dodged with the reason because he was not the legal nominee yet. He still fought to defeat Clinton on the Democratic election in order to get the position as a nominee. Furthermore, he admitted that Clinton was a

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														tough opponent to be defeated.
31	116/04/BO	-- if I am the nominee, then I will sit down with John McCain and make sure that we have a system that is fair for both sides	√								√			This sentence is still related to the previous discussion which is showed by the explanation above. If Obama was the nominee, then in realizing the public financing in the general election of the campaign, Obama needed to discuss it with the other candidate, i.e. John McCain. Thus, the system would be fair for both of them.

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
32	130/06/BO	I obviously can't censor him, but it is not support that I sought.				√			√					This case was related to a support that Obama got from Minister Farrakhan. Obama actually wanted to reject his support because Farrakhan was an anti-Semitic person, while Obama accepted the support from the Jewish community in America. However, Obama said that he could not forbid people to support himself.
33	136/04/BO	I think they are one of our most important allies in the region, and I think that their security is			√				√					This statement explained one of the reasons of Obama's

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		sacrosanct, and that the United States is in a special relationship with them, as is true with my relationship with the Jewish community.												rejection toward the support from the anti-Semites. He stated that America and Israel had a special relationship for a long time. He added that Israel was the most important allies and they had a sacrosanct security. It was also because he had a good relationship with the Jewish community. Implicitly, he wanted to say that the influence of Jews was greater than other

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														community in America.
34	153/01/BO	Well, I think Senator Clinton speaks accurately about him.					√		√					Obama delivered his agreement toward Clinton's statement about Dimitri Medvedev. He was mentioned as Putin's successor in controlling Russia. Clinton stated that he was hand-picked by Putin in order to continue his influence in Russia. Then, Obama agreed on Clinton's statement.
35	163/01/BO	That's exactly right.					√		√					This statement



No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														showed Obama's agreement toward moderator's statement. Previously, the moderator gave Obama a question of whether or not he wanted to take back his vote that he ever gave. Obama explained that he regreted on his vote related to the health care policy for a woman in 2005 in which the government should not interrupt the family in making a health care decision for

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														the woman. The moderator then made his statement clearer by saying 'This is the young woman with the feeding tube...' and Obama admitted it.
36	165/07/BO	But the one thing I'm absolutely clear about is Senator Clinton has campaigned magnificently			√							√		This statement was delivered as a compliment for Clinton. He said they had pass around 20 debate events and Clinton had performed magnificently for all the debate. Thus, he thought that she was a tough opponent.

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
37	165/08/BO	She is an outstanding public servant. And I'm very proud to have been campaigning with her.			√							√		Obama stated this statement in order to give a compliment toward Clinton. He said that she was an outstanding public servant. It referred to Clinton's position as a first lady and a senator who represents New York. Clinton had around 15 years experiences in political world. Thus, he said that he was proud to campaign with her.
38	165/10/BO	And part of what I think both of us are interested	√								√			This statement was delivered

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		in, regardless of who wins the nomination, is actually delivering for the American people.												by Obama as a part of his statements about his regret associated with the court ruling in the case of health care decision for an American woman in 2005. Previously, the moderator asked Obama about whether there was a vote as a Senator that he wanted to take back. After stating his remorse, Obama implicitly wanted to lead the audience and the moderator not to discuss that mistake and

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														convinced the audience that what he was going to do in the future was for the interest of American people.
39	165/13/BO	But when you spend as much time as Senator Clinton and I have spent around the country, and you hear heartbreaking story after heartbreaking story, and you realize that people's expectations are so modest.						√	√					This statement shows Obama's sympathy toward the situation of the people. He said that during his campaign, he heard a lot of hearth breaking stories from the people who even could not get their primary needs.
40	165/26/BO	That's why I think we're both running, and I'm very pleased that I've had			√							√		Although Obama knew that it was a

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		this opportunity to run with Senator Clinton.												race. However, he believed that both of them had the same interest to make a better America and specifically to represents the Democratic party interest. Thus, he said that he was happy to get the opportunity since he respected Clinton as his Democratic party's colleague also.
41	168/01/BO	I have to say, Brian, I think she is -- she would be worthy as a nominee.			√							√		This statement was used to answer the moderator's question of whether or not Clinton was

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														worthy as the nominee. Obama said that she was worthy as a nominee. However, then he said that actually he was better. Therefore, the statement beside showed that Obama had respect for Clinton.
42	168/03/BO	But there's no doubt that Senator Clinton is qualified and capable and would be a much better president than John McCain, who I respect and I honor his service to this country, but essentially has tethered himself to the failed policies of George Bush			√							√		This statement was still related to the moderator's question of whether or not Clinton was worthy as a nominee. Previously, he stated that he was better than

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		over the last seven years.												Clinton. However then, he back to make a compliment for Clinton. He made a comparison between Clinton and John McCain in which he thought that Clinton was better than McCain.
43	168/27/BO	Those are things -- those are qualities that I bring to this race, and I hope that the people of Ohio, Texas, Rhode Island and Vermont decide that those are qualities that they need in the next president of the United States.	√							√				The statement was delivered by Obama on the last dialogue of the debate. On the previous statement, he told the audience about his capability to bring the country together



No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														<p>across divisions of race, religion, and region. Moreover, he told many good things that he had done during his tenure as a senator. Thus, through the statement which was shown by the datum, he expected that people could choose him along with the capability that he had.</p>

Hillary Clinton's data.

T: Tact Maxim

G: Generosity Maxim

A: Approbation Maxim

M: Modesty Maxim

Ag: Agreement Maxim

S: Sympathy Maxim

As: Assertive

D: Directive

C: Commissive

E: Expressive

De: Declarative

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
1	02/01/HC	You know, no matter what happens in this contest -- and I am honored, I am honored to be here with Barack Obama.			√							√		This statement was conveyed by Hillary Clinton in the beginning of the debate. The moderator reminded her that in the previous debate there were some differences between Obama and Clinton. This statement shows that regardless of these differences on the previous debate and what will happen on

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														this debate, Clinton wanted to express her respect to Obama.
2	04/01/HC	Well, this is a contested campaign. And as I have said many times, I have a great deal of respect for Senator Obama.			√							√		Similar to the previous datum, the moderator asked her opinion related to the differences between them. Clinton realized that she was on a contested campaign. Thus, she should deal with the differences between herself and Obama. However, she, once again, wanted to express her respect

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														toObama.
3	04/08/HC	And, therefore, I think it's important that you stand up for yourself and you point out these differences so that voters can have the information they need to make a decision	√							√				This statement was purposed for Obama. In this statement, Clinton still gave her comments related to the differences between herself and Obama. She invited Obama to make these differences become clearer. Thus, the audience could easily decide by themselves the right candidate to lead them in the future.
4	04/23/HC	So we should have a good debate that uses accurate information, not false, misleading and	√							√				In order to make the debate runs well, Clinton invited Obama

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		discredited information, especially on something as important as whether or not we will achieve quality, affordable health care for everyone												to be fair during the debate by conveying facts which were based on reality. She also wanted Obama to give accurate data or information, especially, related to the health care issue in which both of them had a different idea in realizing the universal health care for the people.
5	06/04/HC	So I think that it's clear what I would do if it were someone in my campaign, as I have in the past, asking people to leave my campaign if they do things that I disagree with		√						√				The moderator stated that Clinton's team members had done a campaign fraud which disserved Obama. Clinton

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														stated that she did not know about it and emphasized that if it could be proved than she would make her stance to ask the person to leave her campaign.
6	11/03/HC	But this is an issue that goes to the heart of whether or not this country will finally do what is right, and that is to provide quality, affordable health care to every single person.	√								√			Previously, Obama statedthat Clinton had a wrong plan based on an inaccurate data, in term of health care issue. Clinton's response toward Obama's statements could be seen by the datum beside. It seemed like she

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														did not concern with Obama's accusation and shows that she wanted to concern in realizing the universal health care for the people.
7	11/30/HC	So I think it's imperative that we stand as Democrats for universal health care.	√							√				This statement was used by Clinton in order to emphasize that her primary concern was the universal health care. She stated that according to the independent expert her plan would be able to cover a lot of people to get the health care insurance. Thus,

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														through her statement, she invited the audience, especially the Democrat Party's participants to join her to realize the universal health care.
8	35/01/HC	... and I believe that we can achieve it	√								√			Clinton tried to convince the audience that she could make her plans well, since she had worked on it in around 15 years and she knew the best plan to make it came true.
9	40/02/HC	And I don't mind.You know, I'll be happy to field them, but I do find		√							√			Clinton expressed her protest toward



No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		it curious.												the moderator because during the several debates, she always got the first question all the time. She found it curious, but she did not want to discuss it further.
10	40/20/HC	I've had to negotiate to try to keep factories open -- sometimes successfully, sometimes not -- because the companies got tax benefits to actually move to another country.				√			√					This statement was related to NAFTA. Clinton stated that NAFTA agreements were not benefiting for some parts of the country. Even, it was devastating. It made some factories had to be closed and moved out.

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														Clinton had tried to make negotiation but she admitted that she did not always successful in gaining her aims.
11	40/24/HC	And I would take that time to try to fix NAFTA by making it clear that we'll have core labor and environmental standards in the agreement.		√							√			This statement was still related to NAFTA agreements. Clinton said that she would like to renegotiate the agreements and make it more beneficial for the people in term of core labor and environmental standards.
12	41/10/HC	So I would hope that, again, we could get to a debate about what the		√							√			Clinton told that Obama has attacked her

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		real issues are and where we stand, because we do need to fix NAFTA												regarding NAFTA. She got a lot of erroneous criticism from Obama. Thus, she criticized Obama through her statement by saying that the debate should be based on the real issue. Moreover, she also invited Obama to be more concerned in fixing NAFTA agreement.
13	47/01/HC	Yes, I am saying...		√						√				This statement was delivered by Clinton when she was interrupted by the moderator. Clinton was talking about

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														her plan to make a renegotiation on the NAFTA agreements. Then, the moderator interrupted her before she finished her remarks. Through the statement beside, she wanted to give a sign that she had not finished her remarks.
14	65/01/HC	No, Tim, because what happened in 2000 is that I thought Al Gore was going to be president and when I made the pledge, I was counting on having a Democratic White House, a Democratic president, who shared my			√							√		Clinton conveyed this statement as her response toward moderator question. Previously, the moderator told that in 2000

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		values about what we needed to do to make the economy work for everyone and to create shared prosperity												Clinton pledged to create 200,000 new jobs in upstate New York. However, it had not been manifested. When a media asked her about her pledge, she answered that she might have been a little exuberant. Then, the moderator asked her on the occasion related to that pledge. Clinton tried to confirm her statement before. She said that she might be exuberant because under the Bush's

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														administration it was hard make it came true. While, when she said that pledge, she believed that Al-Gore was going to be the president, and under the Al-Gore's administration she would be able to reach her goal. However, the reality was different.
15	65/23/HC	You know, take a country like Germany. They made a big bet on solar power. They have a smaller economy and population than ours. They've created several hundred thousand new jobs, and these are jobs			√							√		On this datum, Clinton still concerned on the job issue. She believed that if she was chosen as the president, she would be able to

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		that can't be outsourced.												create five million jobs. She referred to her husband, Bill Clinton, who could create 22, 7 million new jobs during his tenure as a president. Her belief grew when she knew that a country like Germany could do the same thing as it was described in the datum.
16	70/06/HC	And every time the questions about qualifications and credentials for commander-in-chief are raised, Senator Obama rightly points to the speech he gave in 2002.			√							√		This statement was used as a part of her answer to the moderator's question. The moderator asked her opinion

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		He's to be commended for having given the speech. Many people gave speeches against the war then.												whether or not Obama was qualified as the commander in chief. Clinton stated that Obama was commended for his speech to against war in 2002. However, she said further that it just a speech, Obama could not make it in to reality. She explained that in 2004 Obama had voted to support Bush in conducting the war.
17	77/01/HC	Absolutely. And I believe there is no military solution that the Americans, who had					√		√					This statement was related to a policy toward Iraq. Clinton



No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		been valiant in doing everything that they were asked to do, can really achieve in the absence of full cooperation from the Iraqi government												delivered this statement as the statement of agreement that when the Iraqi government asked America to withdraw all of their troops without any residual troops left, then Clinton would do it. She believed that Iraq was a sovereign country and they had a right to do it. Moreover, she stated that America could make a cooperative relationship with the Iraqi government to

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														keep the interests of both of the countries.
18	86/01/HC	... work with the Iraqi government so that they take responsibility for their own future.	√							√				Through this statement, Clinton showed her seriousness to make withdrawals of the American troops in Iraq. She believed that Iraq was a sovereign country so that they needed to take their own responsibility without any intervention from other country, including America.
19	104/08/HC	And I know it takes a fighter. It takes somebody who will go	√							√				This statement was related to the universal

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		toe-to-toe with the special interests.												health care program as Clinton's primary program. Clinton stated that to make this idea come true, the American public should choose somebody who wanted to fight for this. Implicitly, the word 'somebody' in this statement was referred to herself. She wanted to influence the audience in indirect way.
20	104/17/HC	And I want to get that money back and invest it in the American middle		√							√			Clinton previously expressed a

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		class -- health care, college affordability, the kinds of needs that people talk to me about throughout Ohio – because what I hear, as I go from Toledo to Parma, to Cleveland to Dayton, is the same litany, that people are working harder than ever, but they're not getting ahead.												criticism toward the government because a lot of costs were spent on some things which were not quite right. Whereas, some of people's interests were ignored. Thus, she stated that she wanted to fix it by bringing the money back and investing it for the people interest. Moreover, she also stated her condolence toward the situation.
21	104/17/HC	And I want to get that money back and invest it in the American middle						√	√					Clinton previously expressed a

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		class -- health care, college affordability, the kinds of needs that people talk to me about throughout Ohio – because what I hear, as I go from Toledo to Parma, to Cleveland to Dayton, is the same litany, that people are working harder than ever, but they're not getting ahead												criticism toward the government because a lot of costs were spent on some things which were not quite right. Whereas, some of people's interests were ignored. Thus, she stated that she wanted to fix it by bringing the money back and investing it for the people interest. Moreover, she also stated her condolence toward the situation.
22	122/01/HC	Well, I will do it as others have done it, upon becoming the nominee or		√							√			On the previous question, the moderator was

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			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		even earlier, Tim, because I have been as open as I can be.												questioning about who might be the bankrolling of her campaign. Clinton said that the bankrolling of her campaign was the American people who support her to run on the American presidential election. The moderator asked her to release her tax runs on that day. Clinton did not have any preparation on this. She only said that she would release it as soon as possible and she

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														would announce it as open as she could.
23	124/01/HC	Well, I can't get it together by then, but I will certainly work to get it together				√			√					Clinton made this mark when she was asked by the moderator related to her tax runs release. The moderator asked her to do it within in a week to avoid the curiosity of the people and to keep the transparency of her campaign. Clinton explained that she would do it as open as she could but she had not ready yet to release her tax runs on

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														that time because she was busied by her campaign schedules.
24	126/01/HC	Absolutely, I've urged that the process be as quick as possible.					√		√					The moderator asked Clinton about her plan to release documents about her experiences as a first lady of the United States. Furthermore, he asked her to release it during the primary season then the public could know about her activities during her position as the first lady. Clinton then agreed to do the moderator's



No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														request.
25	128/01/HC	As soon as we can, Tim. I've urged that, and I hope it will happen.					√		√					This statement was still related to Clinton's plan to release her document which showed her activity as the first lady. Clinton wanted that all the people who ever had an important position in the government to do the same, including president Bush. Then, the moderator asked her if she could force president Bush to do it. Clinton showed her agreement statement that

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														she would try to do it.
26	140/04/HC	I have no doubt that everything that Barack just said is absolutely sincere.			√							√		Clinton in this statement expressed her comment toward Obama's stance related to the support from Louis Farrakhan. Louis Farrakhan is a Muslim leader of a controversial organization 'NoI' (Nation of Islam) and he is an anti-Semitic person. On the headline of Chicago Tribune, Farrakhan clearly delivered his support for

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														Obama to run as the president of America. Obama stated that he denounced his support because he could not tolerate the anti-Semitic people. Although, on the statement Clinton stated that she did not have any doubt about Obama's statements. However, Clinton assumed that Obama's stance was not really clear since he only denounced the support but not rejects it.
27	141/01/HC	Good. Good. Excellent.			√							√		Previously,

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														Clinton hadcriticized Obama for having unclear stance toward the support from Farrakhan. Obama then made his stance clearer by emphasizing that he rejected the support. Clinton then through the statement beside shows her compliment toward Obama.
28	159/01/HC	Absolutely. I've said that many times.					√		√					This statement was delivered by Clinton toward the moderator question of whether there was vote that

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														she wanted to take back. Clinton agreed to make a vote back. She regretted her vote in 2002 in which she voted to support the American policy toward Iraq.
29	170/01/HC	Well, Brian, there isn't any doubt that, you know, both of us feel strongly about our country, that we bring enormous energy and commitment to this race and would bring that to the general election and to the White House.		√							√			This statement was stated by Clinton to answer the moderator's question. The moderator asked her about whether or not there was a fundamental question that must be answered by Obama to prove

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														his worthiness as the candidate. Clinton answered this question with a positive statement as it was shown by the datum. She believed that both of them have a similar purpose to make a better America.
30	170/05/HC	As I said last week, you know, it's been an honor to campaign.				√						√		Clinton conveyed her honor to join the debate. She said the statement since she knew that both of them were going to make a history for America since they for the first

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														time represented the two different group of society in America. Obama represented the Black-Americans and Clinton represented the American women. Thus, she felt honored to have a chance to join the debate.
31	170/06/HC	I still intend to do everything I can to win, but it has been an honor, because it has been a campaign that is history making.				√						√		Clinton said that maybe she could do everything to make her win. However regardless with the statement, she felt honor to become one of

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			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														<p>the candidates of the Democratic Party to run as the American president election in 2008. It was because she thought that this campaign was a history making. The reason of her statement was because both of Obama and Clinton represented two different groups of people for the first time in American presidential election. Moreover, she knew that both of them also had the same</p>



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			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														purpose to make a better America.
32	170/13/HC	So, I feel that either one of us will make history			√				√					Similar to the previous statements, Clinton stated these statements because she believed that both of them wanted to do the best to make a better America and created a history as the first president candidate for the Black American or American women.
33	170/27/HC	I want to help the people of this country get the chances they deserve to have.		√							√			The statement above showed that Clinton assumed that every people

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														deserved to have a health care insurance, because it was included on the primary need of the people. Thus, she said that they deserved to get it. For this reason, she made the universal health care program as her primary program in his campaign. She wanted to provide an affordable health care insurance and covered everyone in the country.
34	170/28/HC	And I will do whatever I		√							√			This statement

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
		can here in Ohio, in Texas, Rhode Island, in the states to come making that case.												was conveyed by Clinton in her last statement of the debate. She wanted to make a conclusion of her missions which were delivered on this debate. One of them was related to the health care issue as her primary program. In this statement, she wanted to convince the audience that she would fight for universal health care for the people.
35	170/30/HC	Because I think we do need a fighter back in the White House.	√							√				Clinton stated that America needed someone

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			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														who wanted to fight for the people's interests. She used the word 'fighter' here to refer to herself. This statement was delivered to convince the audience that she was the right person to lead them.
36	170/33/HC	It's time we had a president for the middle class and working people, the people who get up every day and do the very best they can.	√							√				This statement shows that Clinton had a critic toward the government by saying that the middle class and the working people did not have a president. It meant that the government had

No	Data Code	Statements	Types of Politeness Principles						Types of Illocutionary Acts					Context
			T	G	A	M	Ag	S	As	D	C	E	De	
														not thought about their interests. Moreover, implicitly she used this statement to influence the audience that she was the right person to be since she would stand for the interests of the middle class and working class people.
37	170/35/HC	And they deserve somebody who gets up in that White House and goes to bat for them. and that's what I will do		√							√			Similar to the previous statement, Clinton used this statement to convince the audience that she would do her best for the American interests.

